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in 2nd half of vol. ii

Vol I (Original) end

Carl. 201

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Original is in 6th roll.

(Dresden 1787)

Author one Lavau; a very poor

creature: Book full of blunders

P R E F A C E. and even lies.

THROUGHOUT the following sheets, the Reader is not to expect the History, but, the Life of Frederick the Second. The Author has applied his pursuits to a multitude of interesting anecdotes, to a diversified assemblage of curious particulars, and to such a collection of pleasing details as enter, always with propriety, into the Memoirs of Illustrious Men, although they do not, strictly, constitute what might be regarded as materials for the graver page of History. It falls, however, upon the present occasion, within the province of the Biographer to enumerate the brilliant scenes of war in which this gallant Prince was so conspicuously engaged; because, they prove that He conducted his battles, like a Captain and a Soldier, not merely mixing with his troops, but, appearing, throughout every service, at their head, as a determined and experienced Leader.

In the opinion of the Writer of the ensuing

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pages,

pages, the moment for engaging in the attempt to become the Historian of the Life of Frederick the Second was, still, considerably distant. Freely to canvass events of which the dates are recent at once bespeaks a want of policy, and the ignorance of danger. Better is it, to wait until the ravages of time shall have annihilated the pride which is, perpetually, too vulnerable, and the captious vanity, which it is so difficult to avoid offending. And where, likewise, is the possibility of describing the whole scenery, whilst a part of it continues hidden by an impenetrable curtain? Nor, is this all: it appears indispensably requisite to prolong the completion of so arduous a task until the Scyons which Frederick the Second has planted in the particular constitution of his own states shall have produced their fruits; and until the links which he has added to the chain which forms the more extended constitution of Europe shall have been either consolidated or broken. Then only, can causes be ascertained by their effects; and, then only, must the Historian hope justly to appreciate the character of the Hero whom he chuses for the subject of his investigation. It is at this period alone that he can indulge the idea of discovering (what the *true* portraiture of even the most distinguished characters will present) abilities and virtues which
it

it is as fair to covet as it is laudable to imitate their advantageous activity; and errors and vices which, howsoever they may have dazzled, are, always, to be condemned, detested, and avoided.

And, yet, perhaps, some benefits may arise from that particular anticipation which, not lingering for the approach of any future æra, at once enters upon a series of details respecting the life and character of this extraordinary Monarch. The object of the author is to collect into one mass all the interesting anecdotes which it is possible to interweave with a biographical relation of such peculiar importance. Although he may not have succeeded in his endeavours to present the reader with an exact resemblance of Frederick, at least he flatters himself that he has drawn the outlines with so correct a pencil, that the Man of Genius may not find himself at a loss for either the materials or the power to give the last decisive touches to the picture.

On no occasion has he ventured to introduce his own opinion without the utmost consciousness that he is not exempt from fallibility. Could he presume at all, it must be upon the fearless freedom with which he develops a multitude of circumstances, to preserve them in the light in which they struck him at the first glance, and where they still continue to attract

his observation. Such is the privilege and such the duty of an impartial writer; and, notwithstanding that, upon this ground, he may be led into mistakes, it is even more than probable that he will remain guiltless of a voluntary falsehood.

By some, perhaps, what he adduces may be called in question. He is prepared to meet, with pleasure, the production of every point which can invalidate his narration. All this may give a scope to the discovery of truth; and for his own part, he shall cheerfully submit to better information. All in this world (to borrow the language of a fair humourist) is liable to exposure: Men judge as they feel and see: The Public must decide.

The author conceives himself compelled to lay a stress upon certain particulars of the literary life of Frederick the Second; because, subsequently to his death, several letters and orders which he wrote and issued have been so grossly misrepresented, that numbers of persons still continue to entertain an erroneous idea of his sentiments respecting learning, his academy, and the restriction and the freedom of the press. It seemed a necessary act of justice to rectify mistakes of such a nature; and the rather, as they have been adopted, without exception, by the German writers.

For

For the purpose of elucidating, and ascertaining these circumstances, the author has procured all the original documents to which they bear an intimate relation : and, thus supplied, he has enjoyed the pleasing satisfaction which, naturally, arises from the power of destroying those unjust opinions which have been circulated throughout Germany by a spirit of unjustifiable prepossession. Of the sources of his Extracts, and of the authenticity of the Originals and the Copies in his possession, he is disposed, when called upon, to give an unreserved account. To several of these, he has not recurred as testimonials for the veracity of his remarks ; because, drawing him to an unwarrantable distance from the main subject, they might have led, insensibly, to the invidious Lines of private contestation. Let it not be inferred from hence that they are to continue perpetually useless. On the contrary, they shall come forward in the moment of the appearance of a necessity for more copious details.

To quote nearly four hundred works from which he has selected his different materials would prove superfluous. Let it suffice that the most essential are mentioned to the reader.

Autho-

*Authorities made use of in this Work.**Adelangs diplomatische Geschichte.**Lebens- und Regierungs-Geschichte Friedrichs des andern.**Von Schlesiens vor und seit dem Jahr 1740.**Helden-Staats- und Lebensgeschichte des Königs Friedrichs des andern in Preussen.**Die Denkwürdigkeiten Friedrichs des Grossen.**Merkwürdigster Regierungs-Antritt Sr. Preussischen Majestät.**Kriegs- und Heldengeschichte Friedrichs II. Königs in Preussen.**Hercules Borufforum, oder Friedrichs II. Lebensbeschreibung.**Les campagnes du Roi avec des réflexions sur les causes des évènements.**Memoires pour servir à l'histoire des années 1744 & 1745.**Histoire de la dernière guerre de Bohême.**Observations sur la constitution militaire de la Prusse.**Lettres du Roi de Prusse pour servir à l'histoire de la dernière guerre.**Zustand der preussischen Armee.**Gesammelte Nachrichten und Documente, das Herzogthum Schlesiens betreffend.**Unpartheiische Geschichte des Bayerischen Erbfolge - Krieges.**Schauplatz des Bayerischen Erbfolge-Krieges.**Histoire de la campagne de 1757 par l'armée combinée de France & de l'Empire contre celle du Roi de Prusse.**Histoire des révolutions de la Pologne.**Accounts from Silesia with remarks on the Austrian and Prussian Government.**Briefe über Breslau.**Anekdoten grosser Regenten.**Mémoires de l'Académie de Berlin.**Mémoires secrets de la République des lettres par d'Argens.**Gelehrte Geschichte des Weltweisen von Sans-Souci.**Gesammelte Staats-Briefe Sr. Maj. Frid. II.**Lebensgeschichte*

Lebensgeschichte des Prinzen von Preussen.

Vie de Voltaire.

Œuvres de Voltaire.

Œuvres du Philosophe de Sans-Souci.

Preussische Finanz - Litteratur.

Schlæzers Staats - Anzeigen und Briefwechsel.

Differtations de M. de Herzberg.

Acta publica, den siebenjæhrigen Krieg betreffend.

Tableau des guerres de Frédéric le Grand, contre les puissances réunies de l'Empire, de l'Autriche, de la Russie, de la France, de la Suede & de la Saxe. Ou plans figurés de vingt-six batailles rangées, ou combats essentiels donnés dans les trois guerres de Silésie, réunis en une seule grande planche ; avec une explication précise de chaque bataille. (Volume in 4to de cent pages.) Traduit de l'Allemand de Louis Müller, Officier du génie au service de Prusse.

Plusieurs recueils de mémoires, déductions, traités, &c.

Lettres de Montalambert.

Cloyds und Tempelhofs Geschichte des siebenjæhrigen Kriegs.

Vie privée de Frédéric II.

Anecdoten und Charakterzüge aus dem Leben Friedrichs des zweiten.

Krankheitsgeschichte des Hochseeligen Königs von Preussen.

Anecdoten aus dem Leben Friedrichs des Großen.

Pütters historische Entwicklung der heutigen Staats - Verfassung des Teutschen Reichs.

Correspondance familière entre Fréd. II. & Suhm.

Lebensgeschichte des Freyherrn von der Trenck.

Eloge du Roi de Prusse par Guibert.

Mosers patriotisches Archiv für Teutschland.

Wielands teutscher Merkur.

Lezte Stunden und Leichenbegængniss Friedrichs des zweiten, Königs von Preussen. &c. &c.

L I F E

OF

FREDERICK II.

FIRST PERIOD.

FROM THE BIRTH OF FREDERICK TO HIS ACCESSION
TO THE THRONE.

1712—1740.

A CENTURY has not yet elapsed since the electoral house of Brandenburg, at this day so powerful, was limited to possessions of a very small extent. Brandenburg, at that period, resembled those little German states whose whole policy consists in watching which of the great powers of the empire is likely to preponderate, in order to cloke themselves, according to circumstances, under the protection of the one or the other.

The elector George-William, who died in 1640, saw his provinces laid waste in the war of thirty years, and had not even the liberty to choose his allies.

Frederick-William, his successor, called the Great Elector, restored affairs by his wisdom and his courage. Strong enough to give a powerful succour to the emperor Leopold, he inspired jealousy by the very services he rendered him.

On the death of George-William, the last duke of Silesia of the race of Piaſts, his three principalities of Lignitz, Brieg, and Wolaw, should have returned to the elector, by virtue of the succession compact made in 1537, between the elector Joachim II. and the Piaſt dukes, sovereigns of those three countries; but Leopold, who dreaded for a neighbour a protestant prince, at whose power he took umbrage, got possession of the three principalities, and declared them hereditary.

He gave him, as the only indemnity, the circle of Schwibus, a small nook of land situated towards the confines of Brandenburg; and this too he affected to bestow in the form of a grant, and as a recompence for the services he had received from the elector.

Nor did this content him. Whilst he ceded with one hand the circle of Schwibus, with the other he endeavoured to resume it. The hereditary prince of Brandenburg, of a feeble understanding, and full of vanity, suffered himself to be gained by the flattering promises of Leopold. Won with the hopes of one day obtaining the title of king, he promised, by a secret treaty, to restore Schwibus to the emperor on his accession to the government; and he kept his word. (1)

It

It is this prince who was afterwards the first king of Prussia, under the name of Frederick I.

Frederick-William was obliged to give way. He had a war to support against the Swedes, connections to manage with the emperor, and was unable to support his pretensions by dint of arms.

Frederick I. invariably occupied by vain projects of false grandeur, laboured with ardor to acquire the kingly title, and, in favourable circumstances, obtained it. The duchy of Prussia, of which his father had obtained the absolute sovereignty in 1657, was erected into a kingdom, and Frederick was the first king of Prussia.

This new king, without genius, without power, and almost without revenues, entertained a notion that it was impossible to wear a crown with honour, unless the monarch was environed with all the paraphernalia of luxury and magnificence; and he took for his model the court of Louis XIV. then the most brilliant in Europe.

He was determined to be consecrated by a bishop, and bestowed that dignity on one of his chaplains. (2) He had a sacred phial formed, similar to that of France, and went to be anointed at Koningsberg, in Prussia, because the kings of France go to Rheims for consecration. He wore large Spanish perukes, sumptuous dresses, and gave entertainments. He had a prime minister, a grand master of the ceremonies, fifty cooks, and an academy of sciences. On the birth of his grandson, Frederick II. he took the emperor Charles VI. the czar Peter I. the republic of Holland,

and the canton of Berne, for godfathers and godmothers.

Frederick II. was born at Berlin the 24th of January, 1712: he was third son of Frederick-William, then hereditary prince, and of Maria Dorothea, a princess of the house of Brunswick. His two brothers died before his birth.

The year following Frederick-William mounted the throne. His inclinations were totally opposite to those of his father; he took very different methods of supporting the splendour of his crown. He began by quitting the huge peruke for a little queue, and laced cloaths for a simple uniform. He dismissed the grand master of the ceremonies, the chamberlains, the cooks, and academicians. Of the latter he only retained the astronomer to make almanacs for him; and, to turn the institution into ridicule, he named a madman president of the academy, gave him burlesque patents, and distributed pensions to the surgeons of regiments and midwives. (3)

This singular prince, who thought of nothing but forming soldiers, regarded as idle superfluities every branch of knowledge with which a non-commissioned officer could dispense. The greatest part of his generals hardly knew how to sign their names; and they no more blushed at this ignorance than at not being able to dance on the rope.

He suffered no other man of letters at his court but the person who read and explained the gazette, whilst he was passing his evenings in smoking and drinking beer with some of his generals and ministers, and who served

served at the same time as the buffoon of the assembly. (4)

A theologian of Halle, of the name of Lange, who wished to injure his associate Wolf, represented to him, that, by the system of pre-established harmony, this philosopher advanced, that the body and soul of man resembled a clock, which could only act conformably to the first impulse it had received. Hence it follows, added the theologian, that your majesty's tall grenadiers are not culpable when they desert, since it is only a necessary consequence of the impulse their machine has received from the Creator. At these words the king flew into a violent rage against the philosopher, and Wolf had the alternative of quitting the states of his majesty, or of being hanged. He preferred the former; and the king ordered all the churches of Brandenburg to purchase two large volumes *in folio*, intitled, *The Light and The Right*; a work of the theologian Lange, which nothing but such an order could make any man buy, but which no authority could compel him to read.

Frederick-William lived like a simple gentleman, drank his beer, and incurred no superfluous expences.

It is this singular prince, whose actions when separately viewed we cannot but condemn, who commands our admiration on embracing the great whole, and beholding its success; it is this prince who was the creator of that invincible army, of that unexampled administration, which have laid the foundation of the Prussian greatness.

He doubled the revenues of the state, formed a

guard of giants, and an army of 60,000 soldiers, all of them tall and well exercised.

Under the elector George-William, the whole forces of Brandenburg consisted of 13 companies, distributed at Berlin, Spandau, and Custrin. That prince wishing to create a new company, the burgomaster of a little town ventured to make representations against it. At the death of the Great Elector, which happened in 1688, Brandenburg had 40 battalions, of four companies, and 40 squadrons of cavalry and dragoons. In 1740, king Frederick-William left to his son Frederick II. 85 battalions, and 111 squadrons.

It has been remarked particularly in the house of Brandenburg, that the inclinations of the son are in general diametrically opposite to those of the father; and the cause of this is generally attributed to the restraint in which the hereditary princes usually live before their elevation to the government. Thus the Great Elector succeeded to the feeble George-William; thus did the vanity and troublesome etiquette of the court of Frederick I. inspire Frederick-William with the exclusive taste for soldiers; and thus did the soldier-like ignorance of Frederick-William give rise in the mind of Frederick II. to the love of politeness and the fine arts.

Yet, in spite of these opposite inclinations, the military spirit still propagated itself from father to son.

It was the Great Elector who laid the first foundation of the military power of Brandenburg. This taste, which seemed to diminish under Frederick I. was still preserved, however, by the assiduity and character of
Leopold

Leopold of Dessau, a colossal prince, who knew only how to fight, and whom nature seems to have intended for a grenadier, though his birth had destined him to be a prince.

This prince of Dessau had led the troops of Brandenburg into Italy and the Low Countries ; it is he who formed them to that severe discipline, without which there is no military art.

Frederick-William, when only hereditary prince, had made a campaign in the Low Countries with the prince of Dessau. It is said, that, having there heard an English officer speak with contempt of the Prussian troops, then in the pay of England, he was so piqued at it, that he from that moment formed the project of creating the formidable army of 80,000 men he afterwards had, and of maintaining it at his own expence. Here, possibly, is one of the minute causes of the great power of Prussia.

Frederick-William was not less a devotee than a soldier. He wished his soldiers to be as punctual at church as at the parade. He commanded them to attend sermon and take the sacrament, and placed two centinels at the church door to apprehend those who might be tempted to go out.

All his devotion was limited to these external practices ; and as his chaplains did not dare to tell him that mildness, forbearance, and humanity, were virtues as essential to salvation, it never occurred to him that there was the smallest harm in treating his children, his servants, and his subjects, as a groom treats his horses, or a

corsair his slaves. Such was the father of Frederick II. (5)

At his birth, the young prince was put into the hands of a French refugee lady, called du Val de Recoule, who had been his father's governante. This lady, who had understanding and information, inspired in him from his earliest youth a taste for the French language, which he preferred all his life to every other, and more especially to that of his own nation. (6).

At seven years old, the young prince was taken out of the hands of madame de Recoule. His father, who wished to make a good soldier of him, disposed every thing for the attainment of that object. He gave him for governor, general count de Finkenstein, an old officer grown grey in arms; for sub-governor, colonel de Kalkstein, who had no less courage and experience: major de Senring taught him fortification and mathematics; a Frenchman, called du Han de Jendun, whom the king had known at the siege of Stralsund, was employed to instruct him in other branches of knowledge; and a cadet, of the name of Kenzel, taught him his exercise.

At eight years of age, his father had a small arsenal formed for him, furnished with all sorts of arms proportioned to his age and strength, of which he left him absolute master. Soon after, he named him captain and chief of the corps of cadets, and the young prince performed every day, in miniature, with his little soldiers, all the evolutions by which the father exercised his giants. In the end, he gave him a company in his
own

own regiment, famous throughout all Europe, and the least man of which was little short of seven French feet.

As we may imagine, the sermon was not forgotten, and he was obliged regularly to take the sacrament in the church of the garrison, at the head of his company.

Young Frederick, surrounded on every side with arms and warriors, hearing only the praises of the valour of combats, and the force of armies, sometimes sighed after occupations less turbulent, and more peaceful conversations. Born with a taste for the arts, he devoted to their cultivation every moment he could escape from the vigilance of his guardians. He was more particularly fond of poetry and music; and when he could find a moment's leisure, he read French authors, or played upon the flute. But his father, who knew no other literature but the Bible, no music but that of musketry and cannon, threw his French books in the fire, and broke his flute, whenever he surprised him playing or reading.

Fatigued with exercises and military studies, wearied with sermons and the Bible, overcome by the inflexible severity of his father, the youthful prince royal was desirous of withdrawing himself, at least for a time, from these eternal occupations, and demanded permission to travel. He was enflamed with the desire of visiting Germany, France, England, and Italy. But the father, who could not conceive that there could be any thing in the world worth seeing, after the manœuvres of his regiment of guards, was inflexible to his prayers. He only permitted Frederick to
accompany

accompany him in the little journies he made from time to time in Germany.

In 1728, he took him to Dresden to see the king of Poland; and, two years after, they made another tour in Germany, passing by Leipfic, Cobourg, Bamberg, Erlang, Nuremberg, Anspach, Augsbουργ, Stoutgard, Louisbourg, Mannheim, Darmstadt, and Frankfort on the Main, from whence they descended the Rhine to Wesel.

These little expeditions augmented in the prince royal the desire of undertaking others more considerable. But, convinced that his father would prove inflexible, he resolved to depart secretly, and entrusted two of his young friends, Kat and Keit, with his design, who consented to accompany him. Money was borrowed for the occasion, the day of departure fixed, they were on the point of setting off, when the project was discovered. The father was furious in his anger, and implacable in his vengeance. He shut up his son in the fortrefs of Custrin, and determined to cut off his head. (7) His trial was instituted, the universities were consulted, and the judges of Berlin, on whom he bestowed a caning, from the president to the secretaries, when they did not decide according to his fancy, (8) would have preferred saving their own shoulders to the head of the prince. But for the emperor Charles VI. it had been all over with him. This prince sent count de Seckendorff to Berlin to recal the king to milder sentiments. With great difficulty he was prevailed upon to change them. Military in all his actions, he regarded his son as a soldier who was wanting

ing in subordination, and as a deserter who merited death.

Keit escaped to Holland, from whence he made his way to Portugal. Kat was not so fortunate. The king had him beheaded under the windows of the prince royal, whose head was held by four grenadiers turned towards the scaffold; and he assisted himself at the execution.

The prince royal remained a year at Custring. During this interval, he was confined to occupations still more irksome, perhaps, than military exercises, to a mind full of fire, in which the love of the fine arts was continually augmented by the resistance it experienced. His father wished to avail himself of this opportunity to have him instructed in the details of government and finance. Mr. de Munchow, president of the chamber of domains and finances, was ordered to make him assist at all their assemblies, to consider and to treat him as a simple counsellor, and to make him work like the others. The young counsellor, indeed, assisted at their sittings; but, instead of reading acts, or copying decrees, he amused himself sometimes in reading French pamphlets, at others in drawing caricatures of the president, or the counsellors his brethren, representing them with satyrical attributes, such as horns, a bottle, cards, or other things of that nature.

The president de Munchow rendered great services to the prince, by furnishing him with books and other articles, in spite of the father's prohibition. This was incurring a great risk; for the old king, who had
a man

a man hung up as he would smoke his pipe, would not have spared the president, had he received the slightest intelligence of his compliances.

At length, Frederick was recalled to Berlin. The pretext for this recal was the celebration of his eldest sister's marriage with the hereditary prince of Bareith. The queen wept to obtain his return, and the king feigned to grant to the tears of his spouse what was in fact necessary to his own designs.

For, shortly after his return, there was a talk of marrying him; and the year following he espoused princess Elizabeth-Christina of Brunswick, niece to the empress. The prince royal, who had no great reason to be content with his father's proceedings towards him, thought it extraordinary that he should marry the empress's niece, after the reasons his family had to be dissatisfied with the court of Vienna: he accordingly made some difficulties; but Frederick-William employed his usual arguments to convince him, that is to say, his cane, and a few kicks.

Many circumstances besides had already contributed to inspire the young prince with indifference for the fair sex. He never recollected, without a disagreeable impression, that his father had caused the daughter of an apothecary at Potzdam to be publicly whipped by the hand of the common hangman, for having suffered the prince royal to accompany with his flute some sonatas on the harpsichord, on which she was an indifferent performer. (9) It is asserted, likewise, that he had not been fortunate in his first
amours,

F R E D E R I C

amours, of which he bore sensible traces.

The young princess possessed both an excellent heart, which still endeavoured to know her; but the prejudice was so great, and the physical obstacles on the part of the princess insurmountable.

The marriage was to have been celebrated on the 12th of June, 1732, at Salzdaum, a village belonging to the duke of Brunswick. On the night of the new-married couple in bed, at midnight, *Fire!* was heard on every side. The king instantly rises with precipitation, and in the most haste to find out where the fire was. It was a false alarm given by his friend Frederick, fearing lest his young spouse should be so much terrified, sent to tranquillize her, and would not trouble her repose. During his whole life he bestowed the greatest attention on this respectable princess, whom every Prussian cherishes, and of whom nobody perhaps ever uttered an ill word.

On the occasion of this marriage, the king gave the prince the county of Rupin. Frederick remained some time at Rupin, the capital; but he soon preferred settling at Rheinsberg, two leagues distant, where was a country seat, which the king purchased of lieutenant colonel Beville, to make a present of to the prince. (10) This little town, built in the sands, on the frontiers of Mecklenbourg, and which contained only one thousand inhabitants, felt the effects of the presence of a youthful prince, friendly

The castle soon took a new form. The building ready to fall down; the gardens were without taste; charming, and Rheinsberg became Frederick had placed the soldier over the great gate of the castle: TRANQUILLITATEM COMPARARE. His father was displeased with it. He was a prince who made a public display of music, and of poetry, was but a successor; and dreaded lest he should see that military state to moulder only be supported by the principles of peace erected.

The prince had hardly taken possession of Rheinsberg, when news from his father drew him from this solitude, to transport him amidst the tumult of war.

The succession to the crown of Poland had at this time lighted up the flame of war in a great part of Europe. Frederick-William was to send 10,000 auxiliary troops to the Imperial army then encamped towards the Rhine, under the orders of prince Eugene. The king, who loved his soldiers too well to think of quitting them, resolved in person to conduct them, and embraced this opportunity of giving the prince an idea of war. In the month of June, the two princes arrived at Philipsbourg, where the Imperial army lay. Both of them slept in tents amidst their soldiers. The king's health, which was already impaired, hereby suffered greatly; he was obliged to quit

quit the camp in August; and Frederick, after accompanying him to Cleves, returned to the Prussian troops. But this campaign afforded him but little instruction; he only saw, as he himself expresses it*, the shadow of the great Eugene. (11)

In the month of October, Frederick led back to Potzdam his father's troops, which had never found an opportunity of properly displaying the effect of those skilful manœuvres, of those continual exercises, and that severe discipline, which had rendered them the best in Europe. He found his father very ill, and was for some time entrusted with signing all orders in his name. The king, recovering, sent Frederick to Stettin under the care of the prince of Dessau, that he might see the fortifications of that town. The unfortunate Stanislaus, who was then flying from his enemies, had taken refuge at Königsberg. Frederick had permission to go and see this prince, as celebrated for his misfortunes as for his philosophy and constancy. He remained some weeks with Stanislaus, and formed a friendship with him, which lasted until the death of the latter.

At length Frederick returned to his beloved retreat, where he remained till the death of his father. Philosophy here regulated his occupations and his pleasures. His hours were divided between the study of the sciences, the cultivation of the arts, and the delights of friendship. Philosophy, history, politics, the military art, poetry, and music, had each of them their stated periods, and agreeably succeeded each other. The

* Memoirs of the House of Brandenbourg.

prince passed the greatest part of the day in his library, and the remainder in the society of a select company of amiable and well-informed men. The principal of them were, Chasot, a French officer, who had as much wit and information as amenity in his character: Kayserling, a gentleman of Courland, full of talents and vivacity, possessing at once solid qualities and whimsical singularities; the prince generally called him Cæsarion: Jordan, a French refugee, a pleasant companion, whose conversation amused the prince, and who merited his confidence by the qualities of his heart: Knobelsdorf, less gay than the others, but who directed the buildings and gardens, and could converse on all the arts of designing with as much taste as judgment.

Gaiety usually presided in these meetings, and the prince had no difficulty in putting his joyous friends in train. There were generals also to speak of war, good musicians to form concerts, and excellent painters to decorate the apartments. Whilst Knobelsdorf was executing beautiful landscapes, and laying out the gardens, Pesne was immortalizing himself by his ceilings, and du Buissou by his pictures of flowers. The two Grauns composed charming music for those days, or directed the orchestra; and Benda, one of the first violins in Europe, accompanied the prince, who played extremely well on the flute.

The morning was usually dedicated to study, each repast to the pleasures of conversation and to gaiety, and in the evening there was a little concert.—Happy and peaceful times, which Frederick frequently regretted,

gretted, and after which he sighed more than once, amidst the tumult of affairs, and the din of war !

This epoch of Frederick's life is more important than may be at first imagined. It was in the retreat of Rheinsberg that this extraordinary man was matured, who became the admiration and astonishment of Europe. It was here that his soul of fire, agitated without intermission by the ardent thirst of glory, formed the most sublime and the most daring projects. It was here that he resolved to submit all his other passions to that of glory. It was this retreat that formed the warrior, the hero, the conqueror, the politician, the œconomist, the philosopher, the man of letters, the great king.

The reading of ancient authors constituted his most exquisite delight from this æra to the last moments of his life; and he every day set apart some hours for it. The great examples of the heroes of Greece and Rome had made the deepest impression on his mind; and he burnt with a desire of imitating them. Amongst the works he read over almost every year, may be reckoned Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plutarch, Tacitus, Sallust, Livy, Quintus Curtius, Cornelius Nepos, Valerius Maximus, Polybius, Cæsar, Vegetius, &c. He never spoke but with enthusiasm of the great warriors of Greece and Rome, and, when on the throne, he thought he could not more honourably distinguish an able soldier than by conferring on him a Roman surname*.

* Frederick II. gave a free battalion and the name of *QUINTUS IULIUS* to Mr. Guichard, who wrote some works on the military art of the ancients. Guichard retained this name through life.

Frederick felt that, to acquire glory, it was not without its use to make himself the friend of celebrated philosophers, poets, and men of letters, and he wrote to those who then held the sceptre of literature and the sciences, flattering letters, agreeable compliments, exaggerated commendations; nothing did he neglect to gain their esteem, or at least to found a claim upon their gratitude; and the men of letters, who, not excepting philosophers, are never penurious in praises, when they either are, or desire to be caressed by the great, extolled the hereditary prince beyond his expectations. He sent them letters in verse and prose, treatises on metaphysics, history, politics, &c. The philosophers, tickled by his praises, answered him as a mad lover writes to his mistress. They wrote to him that he was a great poet, a great philosopher, the Solomon of the North. All these hyperboles were printed, and Solomon was not sorry for it, though he had too much understanding to believe in them. Wolf, Rollin, Gravesande, Maupertuis, Algarotti, Voltaire, were honoured with his correspondence. The last, especially, accustomed to offer up incense to the idol of the day, were it transported from the dunghill to the altar, did not fail to exalt, as the first man of the universe, a prince who was in expectancy of the throne, and who assured him that he was the greatest philosopher of the age, and the first poet in the world.

When the prince went to Berlin he saw particularly the count de Monteufel, who had formed in that city a society of friends to truth, whose chief object was to maintain the doctrines of Wolf, and defend him against his

enemies.

enemies. The prince royal, who esteemed that philosopher, and wished to possess his esteem, joined them. He patronized the apology of Wolf, and had his principal treatises translated into French. Wolf, from gratitude, dedicated to him the first part of his *Droit de la Nature*, to which the prince replied by a letter full of compliments and commendations.

He went still further; he laboured to obtain the recal of the philosopher, and succeeded. In 1736, the king named, to examine his principles, a commission composed of reformed and Lutheran theologians. Wolf was declared innocent. A letter was sent to him at Marbourg, whither he had retired, inviting him to return; but he took special care not to give faith to the promises of a king who erected theologians into judges of philosophers, and made no scruple of hanging men for their opinions. He did not return till 1740, when his protector was on the throne.

It was at Rheinsberg that Frederick composed his refutation of the principles of Machiavel, under the title of *Anti-Machiavel*, the manuscript of which he sent to Voltaire to correct, and to get printed. Frederick wished by this work to prepare Europe for his reign, and dispose men's minds in his favour.

In 1738, the king went to Loo with the prince royal, on a visit to the prince of Orange. In this journey Frederick was admitted a free mason. The count de la Lippe Buckebourg being at dinner with the princes, the king spoke of the free masons with great contempt. His amiable and charitable preachers had made him believe that they were a society of atheists, heretics,

and forerunners of Antichrist, who were labouring only to effect the destruction of religion. The count warmly espoused their cause, and his apology made such an impression on Frederick, that he drew him aside, on rising from table, and begged him to procure him the means of reception. The count consented, and it was determined that it should take place at Brunswick, through which the king must pass. He was accordingly admitted in that town the 12th of August, in a secret lodge held by masons whom the count had sent for from Hamburg. Fortunately the king knew nothing of this admission; and well was it for the free masons, for he would not have failed to employ all his interest to get as many of them hanged as he could. At the commencement of his reign, Frederick held a lodge, where in quality of *grand master* he received prince William, the margrave of Schvedt, and the duke of Holstein. (12)

After this journey the prince returned to Rheinsberg. His father saw with pain that he associated with men of letters and philosophers; but he tolerated them when he was free from the gout, provided they did not attempt to appear in his presence. Towards the end of his life, when the pains of the gout augmented his ill humour, and produced frequent fits of passion and impatience, (13) he often threatened to apprehend and send to Spandau the whole society of *beaux esprits, esprits forts*, philosophers, &c. whom he termed the corruptors of his son. These threats sometimes spread a violent alarm amongst the members of the joyous academy of Rheinsberg, and the prince often stood

stood in need of all his eloquence to cheer his timid friends, and hinder them from taking flight.

Frederick had secret friends at Potzdam who gave him an account of every thing, knew by what means opportunely to lay the storm, and, when they could, restored tranquillity to the choice spirits.

At the commencement of 1740, the king's disorder gained ground considerably, and in the month of May there was no longer any hope. In the night of the 26th a courier arrived at Rheinsberg to announce that the king was worse than ever. The prince's friends, by whom he was dispatched, desired him at the same time to repair to Potzdam, apparently as if he knew nothing of the king's danger. The prince instantly set off, and gave the king to understand that filial tenderness had induced him to come personally to assure himself of the state of his health; but, instead of finding him exhausted, as he imagined, saw him in his great chair on rollers, speaking with as much action and fire as if he never had been ill. The prince at first thought he had been trifled with; but the king soon after relapsed into weaknesses similar to those which had occasioned the sending of the courier, and Frederick no longer suspected his friends.

The 27th of May, the king, who felt his end approaching, sent for two priests. He confessed his sins, and above all accused himself of having committed several acts of injustice in his anger. But he consoled himself with the reflection that he had never committed adultery, had always honoured the priests, and assiduously frequented church. The priests con-

firmed him in this confidence, and he hoped for paradise. The 29th of the same month, he himself dictated the manner in which he wished his funeral ceremony to be performed. This piece, which is preserved, bears the full impression of his character. (14) He lived till the 31st of May. The prince royal, the three other princes his brothers, the queen, and some generals whom he particularly esteemed, saw him frequently in his last days; but the two priests did not quit him either day or night, and were continually occupied in praying with him, or in fortifying him against the apprehensions of death, and the remorse of his conscience. One of them, named Cochius, having asked him if he was disposed to die, he answered, *I have detached my heart from all the objects that were dear to me, from my wife, my children, my army, my kingdom, and the whole universe. How happy are you!* replied the priest: *this is a proof that you love God beyond every thing.* Some time after he expired, crying out, *O Vanity! Vanity!*

S E C O N D P E R I O D.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF FREDERICK II. TO THE
THRONE, TO THE PEACE OF BRESLAW.

1740—1742.

FREDERICK II. mounted the throne. Hitherto this prince had been viewed only as the friend of philosophy and the muses, as the friend of peace, study, and retirement. The world looked for a reign very different from that of his father. The public imagination had long anticipated a brilliant court, Attic elegance, all the charms of wit, all the advantages of the arts and sciences; in a word, a prince who would limit his pleasures to the delights of study, and his ambition to the title of a king philosopher. The world was deceived. Frederick did not cease to love and cultivate letters, but he united with the love of study all the qualities, all the labours of a great king. It was imagined that the army would be neglected, and he augmented it with some regiments without touching its constitution; he only disbanded the regiment of guards, more singular than useful, except one battalion which he retained as a monument. The clergy of the different communions thought themselves lost, and he restored to the Lutherans the liberty of performing divine service, with all the ceremonies prohibited them by Frederick.

William, in order to draw them nearer to the reformed, with whom he wished them to be united. The people feared they should be forgotten for the choice spirits and public shows, and the second day of his reign he threw open all the royal magazines, distributed corn at a low price, to put an end to the scarcity; ordered grain to be purchased in Poland to form new magazines in the provinces; abolished all dispensations of marriage, forbade money to be given for such sort of dispensations, and permitted every body to marry according to their fancy in all cases where marriage was not clearly prohibited by the Bible. The choice spirits of Rheinsberg already figured to themselves a delicious life flowing with abundance; they beheld nothing in future but days interwoven with gold and flowers; some of them already wept with joy, and Kayserling had nearly lost his senses: the king indeed provided for them; but they were obliged to work, and render themselves useful. (15)

By the third day the greatest part of these changes were effected, and on the sixth the philosopher Wolf was recalled. (16)

Frederick-William had left his son a population of 2,240,000 men, a revenue of 48 millions of livres*, a treasure of 80 millions †, and an army of 80,000 well-disciplined troops. Frederick had long formed the resolution of turning his situation and his resources to the best account, and no man has ever succeeded better in his projects. The following is the list of his states on his coming to the throne:

* 12 millions of Prussian crowns, or 2 millions sterling.

† 20 millions of Prussian crowns.

The kingdom of Prussia.

The duchy of Pomerania, excepting Swedish Pomerania.

The electoral marche of Brandenburg.

The duchy of Crossen, with Cotbus and Peitz, in Lower Lusatia.

The duchy of Magdebourg, with two fifths of the county of Mansfeld.

The principality of Halberstadt, with the county of Hohnstein.

The principality of Minden.

The duchy of Cleves.

The principality of Mœurs.

The county of Mark and Ravensberg.

The duchy of Gueldres.

The county of Tecklenbourg and Lingen.

The seigniory and bailiwick of Montfort, in Upper Gueldres.

The estate of Turnhout, in Brabant.

The barony of Herstal.

The seigniories of Orange, Polder, Thaalderge, Wateringen, Upper and Lower Schwaluwe, Little Waspic, Twintig, Horven, Honderland, Gravesande.

The palace at the Hague, called *the Old Court*.

The government was military and absolute, his arsenals were well provided, the fortresses in a state of defence, his engineers experienced, and the corps of cadets was a nursery, whence he could, in case of need, draw officers half formed. Frederick-William, whilst he oppressed the sciences, had favoured population

lation and manufactures; he had granted advantages and encouragement to foreigners, who came to settle in his states, nor had he neglected making some embellishments at Berlin and at Potzdam. He established in the capital a police on the model of that of Paris, and workhouses for beggars and vagabonds.

The system of finances was on a very solid footing. This prince had established a directory general, divided into four departments, over each of which presided a minister of state. To this principal department, a college of justice and finances was subordinate, in each province. The ministers of foreign affairs, of justice, finances, &c. were obliged to render an account to him every day of what was passing, and he decided in the last resort.

Such was the state in which Frederick II. found his kingdom, on his accession to the throne: he felt the solidity of the foundations on which his father had built; and far from making any change in them, he resolved to proceed on the same principles. He wished to reign over an enlightened people, but he dreaded lest knowledge and abundance should corrupt the military spirit, and destroy activity, sobriety, and subordination. He had formed two plans, from which he rarely deviated during his whole reign; which were, to govern his subjects as a father, and his soldiers as a despot. Frederick-William had not made that distinction; under his reign, every thing was conducted upon military ideas.

The two first months of the reign of Frederick were taken up in new arrangements, journies, and
other

other public affairs. (17) He prohibited, for instance, the bestowing of places on young men who had not studied in one of the universities of his states, as he set a high estimation on each man who consumed his produce in the country. Heretofore, girls, convicted of having destroyed the fruit of their womb, were shut up alive in leathern sacks, and thrown into the river; this barbarous custom he abolished; and he formed the *order of merit*, destined more particularly as a military recompence.

He went into Prussia and Westphalia to receive the homage of the inhabitants. In taking this last journey, the idea struck him of proceeding incognito as far as Paris. He assumed the name of *Dufour*, called himself a Bohemian count, and thus arrived at Strasbourg. Prince William, his brother, who accompanied him, took the name of count de *Schafgotsch*, and lodged in a different hotel from the king. On their arrival they dressed themselves *à la Française*. Towards the evening, the king went into a coffee-house, got acquainted with some officers, and invited them to supper. *Parbleu!* says one of them pretty loud, *let us see what sort of personage this Bohemian count is.* They repaired to his invitation, and were not a little surprized to find the pretended Bohemian an amiable companion, full of wit, and who spoke their language as well as themselves. They retired in high glee, and the next day invited themselves to breakfast.

At the hour of the parade, the king was there, but no sooner did he appear, he was discovered by
a foldier

a soldier who had served in the Prussian army. The marshal de Broglio, then governor of Strasbourg, was immediately informed that the king of Prussia was in town. Frederick waiting on him under his false name, he received him with distinction, and two or three times during the conversation let the words *your majesty* escape him. The whole city soon learnt that the king of Prussia was at Strasbourg, the streets were illuminated, *vivat* was shouted under his windows; but Frederick, vexed at being discovered, changed his project, no longer thought of his expedition to Paris, and quitted Strasbourg at day-break. (18)

The inhabitants of Liege paid the expences of this journey. The bishop of Liege set up some pretensions to the seigniory of Herstal, which the house of Brandenburg claimed as a part of the succession of the prince of Orange. In 1732, Frederick-William had taken possession of it, but the inhabitants refused to do homage to him. The prince had informed the Imperial court of this refusal, and was on the point of using force, when he died. At the moment we are now speaking of, the inhabitants of Herstal refused also to do homage to the new king, and the bishop, who imagined he had only to do with a poet, thought proper to support them. The king instantly sent one of his counsellors, called Rambonnet, to demand of him whether he was determined to pursue his pretensions on Herstal, and assist the revolters; or renounce his claims? The bishop hesitating, twelve companies of infantry and a squadron of dragoons entered

entered the feigniory of Horn, and lived there at his expence. (19) The bishop demanded succours from the emperor, France, and Holland. The first referred the matter to the diet of the empire, and the two others becoming mediators, the king consented to forego his rights for 150,000 crowns paid him by the bishop.

Frederick intended passing the remainder of the year at Rheinsberg, to resume his former studies, and compleat his recovery from a disorder he had caught in his journey to Westphalia. But the emperor Charles VI. died, and his death changed the face of Europe. (20)

The male line of the counts of Habsbourg, or the house of Austria, was now extinct. There remained only two archduchesses, Maria-Theresa, and Marianne. By the pragmatic sanction, Maria-Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI. became heiress of his vast estates, and this princess was worthy of possessing them. She had espoused, some years before, Francis duke of Tuscany. The reunion of a great number of powerful states under one sceptre, and the Imperial dignity attached for 300 years to this same power, had rendered the house of Austria the continual object of uneasiness and jealousy to the neighbouring governments. One of the leading principles of the house of Bourbon had invariably been to weaken this house, to disperse its provinces, and to keep them from the Imperial crown.

Charles VI. foreseeing the attacks his heiress would have to dread from that quarter, had solicited the
greatest

greatest part of the powers of Europe, nay even France and Spain, to become guarantees of the pragmatic sanction. The good emperor reckoned on such guarantees, and was deficient in what alone could ensure the success of his projects, a strong army and a full treasury. These, however, he had entertained thoughts of procuring; with which view, in the years 1735 and 1739, he purchased peace by the sacrifice of Sicily, Naples, a part of Lombardy, Servia, Wallachia, and Belgrade. But many years peace and repose were wanting to repair his forces, and to acquire fresh vigour. At his death, the unfortunate war with the Turks was just finished, his troops were destroyed, and his resources exhausted.

The powers jealous of its greatness, could not have a better opportunity of humbling the house of Austria, and they resolved to seize it. The guaranty gave them no trouble. With a good army and full coffers, where is the treaty you cannot explain to your advantage, when you have to do with an inferior power?

The king of Spain set up pretensions to all the hereditary states of the house of Austria, and endeavoured to appropriate to himself at least those in Italy. Charles, elector of Bavaria, who made himself the instrument of the projects of France, pretended also that this inheritance belonged to him, and took up arms to obtain possession. Louis XV. might have put in the same claim, and with as much foundation; for by the wives of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. he descended from the most ancient male line of the house of Austria.

tria. But he could not venture to assert his rights without incurring the risk of seeing half Europe rise up against him. Policy required, therefore, the adoption of less dangerous means, and that no scheme of aggrandizement should be suspected. The old cardinal de Fleury amused himself with these projects, imagining they might turn to the advantage of France; and did not directly wound the faith of treaties, especially the pragmatic sanction. This man, too much a devotee to be a minister, too ambitious for a devotee, had conceived the singular idea of reconciling political interests with the principles of religion, morality, and conscience.

Augustus III. king of Poland, formed pretensions on Austria, on account of his wife, who was daughter of the emperor Joseph. The king of Sardinia demanded Milan.

Philip king of Spain, in quality of heir to Charles II. of the house of Austria, founded his claims on the treaty of the emperor Charles V. with Ferdinand I. by which it was enacted, that all the Austrian states should return to the crown of Spain, should that house fail of male heirs. The elector of Bavaria pretended to the succession of Austria, by virtue of the testament of the emperor Ferdinand I. whose eldest daughter married Albert V. duke of Bavaria. This testament expressed, that, on the extinction of the male line of the house of Austria, the posterity of Anne, spouse of Albert V. should exclude the females of that house from the succession to the states, and should inherit all the possessions of Ferdinand I.

Whilst

Whilst these powers were amusing themselves with discussing their respective pretensions, Frederick II. took a shorter method of giving weight to his. Charles VI. died in the month of October; in December, the king was already in Silesia, with 30 battalions and 31 squadrons. Secrecy and celerity almost invariably ensured the success of his enterprizes. The court of Vienna learnt his arrival in Silesia, without knowing that he had left Berlin. Even his own army was ignorant whither he was leading it, nor was it until they entered the province they were to conquer, that his troops were informed of their destination. This information they first had from a publication purporting that "as Silesia constituted the ram-
" part of the states of Brandenburg, his majesty's
" intention was to take this province as a deposit,
" and to defend it against all the claimants to the suc-
" cession of Austria." The king added, "that, far from
" having taken this step to offend the queen of Hun-
" gary, his only desire, on the contrary, was to main-
" tain a strict friendship with her, for which object he
" was now in negociation."

In fact, the king had sent count de Gotter to Vienna to offer the queen his succour against all the enemies of the house of Austria; his accession to a league with Russia and the maritime powers to maintain her in her inheritance; his influence to make the election of king of the Romans fall on the duke of Lorraine, her husband; and two millions of florins. But, in return, he required the queen to cede to him all Silesia. (21)

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The Count dictated these propositions, word for word, to the cabinet of Vienna, and demanded an answer. The court of Vienna was not accustomed to hear such language from a prince of the empire. Maria-Theresa had not forgot that the king of Prussia was the vassal of her ancestors, and her answer was conformable to the origin and dignity of her house, but little adapted to her situation. The duke of Lorraine answered in her name: "That the king of Prussia, as a prince of the German empire, and guaranteee of the pragmatic sanction, was obliged to offer the succours he proposed; that the queen was already allied with Russia and the maritime powers, and could count upon their assistance; that, by the golden bull, the election of emperor should be free; that the two millions of florins offered were insufficient even as an indemnification for the damage occasioned by the Prussian troops in Silesia."

At the same time the queen published a manifesto in Silesia, by which she declared the enterprize of the king of Prussia a decided hostility, and demanded that the foreign troops should leave her states.

Thus were the negotiations broken off, and the king of Prussia held himself in readiness to change his propositions into pretensions, and give weight to them by force of arms. All this was executed at the same moment. Whilst Louis de Halle, his chancellor, (22) was composing a subtle manifesto, Frederick kept marching at the head of his army, and was master of

great part of Silesia, before the chancellor had reduced his materials to order. (23)

The King's pretensions were chiefly directed to the principalities of Lignitz, Brieg, Wolau, and Jægerndorf, with the feignories of Leobschütz, Oderberg, Beuten, and Tarnowitz. The following is a succinct account of these pretensions.

In 1524, George, margrave of Brandenburg, purchased, out of his savings, the principality of Jægerndorf, which belonged to the house of Schellenberg, and Louis, king of Bohemia, gave him the investiture of it, as of an hereditary fief, capable of alienation. When Ferdinand I. mounted the throne of Bohemia, he confirmed this investiture with all its clauses, articles, and conditions. At the death of the margrave George, Jægerndorf passed to his son George-Frederick. The latter, having no heirs, bequeathed the principality by testament to Joachim-Frederick, elector of Brandenburg, his near relation, from whose stock the royal house of Prussia, now reigning, is descended. After the death of George-Frederick, the elector took possession of it without difficulty, and united it for ever to his hereditary states. It is true that he afterwards ceded it under the title of apanage to his second son John-George; but on express condition that he should keep it clear of engagements, and that at his death it should return to the electoral line of Brandenburg, to which it should belong in perpetuity.

By virtue of ancient family treaties, and especially that of Gera, made in 1603, in which the principality
of

of Jægerndorf is expressly mentioned ; by virtue of several conventions successively confirmed by all the emperors ; the electors and margraves of Brandenburg cannot alienate in perpetuity the smallest part of their hereditary possessions, not even a new acquisition ; and should the thing happen, the successors reserve the right of protesting against a disposition of that nature, and of asserting their claims to the country so alienated.

During the troubles of Bohemia, under the emperor Ferdinand II. the margrave John-George ranged himself on the side of Frederick I. Elector Palatine, thinking his pretensions just. Ferdinand II. declared this action a felony,* put him under the ban of the empire, and took possession of the principality of Jægerndorf. He even extended the rigour of this judgment to his son, an infant scarcely one year old ; and this unfortunate prince died in 1642, deprived of the inheritance of his ancestors, and depressed with want.

His death transferred to the electoral house of Brandenburg all his rights, and consequently his pretensions to the principality of Jægerndorf and its dependencies. The imputed crime of felony for which this principality was taken from John-George, could in no wise affect these rights, since by virtue of treaties this principality had been only given him by his father as a *fidei commis*, and which was incapable of being dismembered in perpetuity from the possessions of the house of Brandenburg.

* The felony of a vassal against his lord, in the feudal system.

These reasons might be very valid ; but the elector of Brandenburg was not in a situation to give them weight ; an unhappy war, which desolated all Germany, had particularly ravaged his states. The Great Elector found himself too feeble, therefore, to assert those rights which the Imperial court could not deny, but which it knew how to elude in a thousand different ways. This court, amongst other reasons, alleged, that it was not to be borne, that a protestant prince should have possessions in a country which it was intended to convert to the catholick faith ; a new and singular claim, of which it would have been very difficult to produce the titles. In the end, an equivalent in money was offered to the electoral house of Brandenburg. This the elector could not accept, without acting contrary to the constitution of his family ; so that the negotiations lasted upwards of forty years, without coming to a conclusion. Things were thus situated, when, as we have said, the family of the dukes of Lignitz, Brieg, and Wolau, became extinct. The ancient dukes of that house enjoyed an absolute power, and depended neither on the crown of Poland, nor on that of Bohemia. In 1329, however, they offered to submit their possessions to John de Lützelbourg, king of Bohemia, as hereditary fiefs, with the reserve of all their rights, especially that of selling, alienating, or making what engagements they thought proper. Ladislaus and Louis, who succeeded John, confirmed these rights, and even added that they might dispose of them, by testament in favour of whom they pleased. Founded on this right, the princes of
Lig-

Lignitz, in 1537, entered into a compact of succession with the electoral house of Brandenburg.

Ferdinand, then king of Bohemia, did not behold this compact with pleasure, but he could not oppose it without destroying the fundamental rights of the house of Lignitz, which he had himself confirmed. He took another method therefore; he excited the states of Bohemia to make representations to him against this treaty. He had a great inclination at once to declare it null, but could not find reasons on which to found this declaration. Pretexts were sought for, and attempts made to give them some appearance of solidity. It was alledged, that it would be disadvantageous for the crown of Bohemia, that the possessions of the house of Lignitz should be united with those of the house of Brandenburg. But could this pretended fear annul rights so firmly established, and so well confirmed?

These feeble reasons were backed by force. In 1546 he declared the pact of confraternity between the two houses null, and forced the duke of Lignitz to deliver to him the original.

The house of Brandenburg never ceased protesting against these proceedings, nor ever ceded the most trivial clause of the rights established by the treaty, the original of which they preserved, and waited for a favourable moment to assert their claims.

Such was the state of matters when the house of Lignitz became extinct. The Great Elector renewed his pretensions to Lignitz, and at the same time to Jägerndorf. We have seen how he at length con-

tented himself with the circle of Schwibus, which was restored by his successor.

Such were the rights Frederick II. wished to revive. The court of Vienna denied that all these pretensions were founded; maintaining that the pact of fraternity between the house of Lignitz and the elector Joachim, as well as the testament respecting Jægerndorf, being acts contrary to the feudal laws, had with justice been declared null, and that accordingly, on the extinction of heirs male, these principalities had been justly reunited to the crown of Bohemia. The treaties of 1686 and 1695 were particularly cited. By the former, the elector Frederick-William renounced these principalities for the circle of Schwibus; by the latter, Frederick I. had restored this part of Silesia to Austria, to prepare himself a way to the regal dignity. Nothing can be more ridiculous than the publications on both sides at that time; citations were made even from the Pandeſts. The fact is, that the electors of Brandenburg had been obliged to cede their rights to Silesia, because they were too weak to resist the house of Austria; and Frederick II. their successor, thought proper to bring forward his claims, because he felt himself strong enough to assert them.

Silesia had only a small garrison for its defence. Glogau is the first fortress met with on the side of Brandenburg; 800 soldiers who formed the garrison of that place, under the orders of count Wallis, were unable to resist the Prussians. The king left behind him prince Leopold of Dessau with some regiments,

ments, to besiege Glogau. As for himself, he continued his rout with the rest of his army, and arrived before the gates of Breslau the 2d of January, 1741: he was at the head of a van-guard of 20 companies of grenadiers, and some squadrons of cavalry and hussars. The town, which was guarded by its own soldiers, surrendered without resistance, on condition of being suffered to observe a sort of neutrality. It was with the same view, that this city had refused a garrison of 5000 men whom the queen of Hungary had offered them some time before. The city was deceived in its expectations. The king consented to suffer no more than thirty of his gens-d'armes to enter; and they accordingly followed him with his suite of princes and generals. This was all he wanted. His presence and his conduct were such as to banish apprehension, distrust, and every idea of hostility. Frederick, at the age of twenty-eight, possessed all the qualities which had procured him the character of the most polished man of the age, (24) and their splendor was embellished by all the vigour and vivacity of youth. He tranquillized the catholics respecting the liberty of religion, testified great respect for the bishop and the clergy, gave flattering hopes to the members of the Protestant churches, and bestowed every sort of attention and regard on the nobility and principal citizens: mild, affable, modest, he soon gained the confidence of the Silesians; they became accustomed to see him, and no longer regarded his presence as the forerunner of a dangerous revolution.

Hitherto, every thing had passed without rigour,

without effusion of blood, without disorder. The Prussians had inspired no dread. The vanquished admired the victor, and were never wearied with discoursing on his great qualities. They were delighted in beholding for the first time the spectacle of a brilliant and well-disciplined army. The king gave entertainments and balls, which he opened himself with the finest women of the province. All these circumstances won the hearts of a nation, lovers of pomp and pleasure; and it may be said, without pleasantry, that Frederick conquered the Silesians rather by feasts and minuets, than by the terror of his arms.

Breslau, however, was not a Capua for the victors. The king quitted pleasures to fly to the conquest of Upper Silesia. In the interim field-marshal Schwerin was advancing to the Neisse with the right wing of the army; and the light troops were dispersed along both banks of the Oder, even to the frontiers. At the end of January, 1741, Silesia was under the power of Prussia, from Crossen to Jablunka (the passage from Hungary), and from the mountains to the frontiers of Poland. The fortresses of Glogau, Brieg, and Neisse, were blocked up. The feeble garrisons of some towns which had prepared for a defence, were made prisoners of war. General Brown had collected near Troppau the remainder of the Austrian troops dispersed by fear; but, after a fruitless attempt, he was obliged to pass the Mora to retire into Moravia, and abandon Upper Silesia to field-marshal Schwerin.

The winter quarters lasted not long. The king had gone
gone

gone to Berlin to cover the marche of Brandenburg from every attack on the side of Hanover. To this effect, he formed on the frontiers near Gentin a camp of 30,000 men, commanded by old Leopold of Dessau.

Towards the end of February, the king returned to Silesia, and soon after received the keys of Glogau, which was taken by storm the 8th of March, by eight battalions commanded by prince Leopold and the margrave Charles. (25)

After this, the besiegers rejoined the army, then composed of 60,000 men. The Austrians had assembled likewise an army of 25,000 regular troops, with which general Neuperg came out of Moravia the beginning of April, and passed the Neisse, to enter Silesia. These troops were composed of experienced soldiers, who had already made several campaigns. The Austrian cavalry was renowned, and the army was followed by a band of Hungarians, Slavonians, Croats, Pandours, Warasdins, &c. who from attachment to Maria-Theresa had flown to the defence of that princess.

We are now at the moment when the Prussian troops will have occasion to shew, in the presence of the enemy, what an army is capable of, which has been exercised for twenty years with the strictest attention, and accustomed to the severest discipline. (26) The 10th of April, 1741, they gave a proof of it in the plain that separates Molwitz from Pampitz, two villages at a small distance from Brieg.

The 9th, Neuperg had advanced as far as Brieg
with

with the design of pushing on to Olau, to get possession of the magazines and heavy artillery of the enemy at that place. Early in the morning of the 10th, the king advanced from Pampitz to meet him, with 31 battalions and 30 squadrons in order of battle. The Austrians were not yet completely formed, when the Prussian right wing had already cannonaded their left near Molwitz. The Austrian cavalry performed wonders. General Rœmer, who commanded it, threw the right wing of the Prussians into great disorder, by five successive attacks he made with three regiments of cuirassiers and dragoons. The cavalry was broken. Schulenbourg, the Prussian general, who had posted himself at the head of his dragoons, lay dead upon the field. Every thing gave way, the battle seemed to be lost. The king doubted of the victory, and was hurried far from the field of battle. (27) General Schwerin, (28) however, kept up a constant fire, and so pressed the Austrian infantry, as to oblige it finally to retreat. On the right wing of the Prussians, too, was seen the effects of military discipline. Prince Leopold, who commanded the second line, drove back the fugitives of the first, by firing on them. He reinforced this wing with some battalions of grenadiers, and by that means gave them the advantage over the enemy's infantry, which the cavalry had left exposed and unsupported on the flank, by advancing with too much ardor against the Prussians. General Rœmer was slain by a musket shot, and his cavalry had the boldness to pass before the Prussian front to regain the left wing. Neuperg
-sent

sent some other regiments of cavalry to the succour of the left wing, which now threw the Prussians into confusion, but the continued fire of the grenadiers at length forced them to retire. Towards the evening, the Prussians remained masters of the field of battle, after a combat of five hours. Neuperg retreated towards Neisse.

This day cost the Prussians more than 2000 men, and the Austrians upwards of 3000. Amongst the former was the margrave Frederick-William. There were present at this battle ten princes of the house of Brandenburg. The number of wounded was immense, and proves the obstinacy with which the battle was fought on both sides.

Each party did the other justice. The Austrians admitted that they had never seen braver or better exercised soldiers than the Prussian troops, and the Prussians confessed they should have lost the battle, had the Austrian army been formed when the attack began, and had the infantry supported the cavalry. (29)

This victory proved the superiority of the new Prussian tactics, and procured Frederick the conquest of Silesia. These brilliant successes excited the attention of all Europe. The sovereigns by whom it was then governed were divided into two great parties; that of Austria, and that of the house of Bourbon. The preponderance of the one or the other seemed now to depend on the party the king of Prussia should espouse; and all Europe had their eyes turned towards a power, known before only by the jokes passed on the huge soldiers of parade, with their
little

little blue coats and powdered hair. The king's headquarters became the rendezvous of the ambassadors of almost every court from Petersburg to Madrid. Austria, Russia, England, and Holland, laboured with ardor to persuade the king to form a treaty with the queen of Hungary, and to divert him from an alliance with her enemies. It was proposed to him to evacuate Silesia, with a promise of satisfying him respecting his pretensions.

But Frederick was not disposed to relinquish what he had once got into his hands, nor to prefer the doubtful issue of negotiations to that of arms, which decide in a much more efficacious manner. He chose rather to listen to France, Bavaria, and Saxony, whose leading object was the abasement of the house of Austria, and the election of Charles of Bavaria to the Imperial throne. The duke de Belleisle, who repaired to the Prussian camp immediately after the battle, was the chief instrument of this project.

The war of Silesia, then, was continued. The first exploit of the Prussians, after the victory of Molwitz, was the taking of Brieg, which was defended by general Piccolomini with two thousand men. This place surrendered the 7th of May, after costing the Prussians no more than 2000 bombs and 4000 balls.

The king of Prussia was now master of all Lower Silesia, except Breslaw and Neisse. His troops entered the former unexpectedly the 10th of August, and put an end to the neutrality. This city was accused of maintaining a secret correspondence with the Austrian troops. The king was informed of it by an intercepted letter, sent from the town to general Neuperg, who

who was therein desired to approach with the Austrians, and the gates should be opened to them. The king got the start of them. In the night he introduced 8000 men into the suburbs, and the next morning into the town. To prevent all violence, and spare the effusion of blood, it was pretended that these troops were only to traverse the town in order to pass the Oder. The town-major put himself, as usual, at the head of the Prussian troops, to conduct them. But they very soon saved him that trouble. The grenadiers suddenly faced about, at the bending of a street, let the major go on, and advanced towards the great square. The major, thinking the Prussians had mistaken their way, cried out as loud as he could for them to follow him; they were deaf to his cries; and prince Leopold approaching, politely thanked him for having been so obliging as to serve as a guide to the troops, begged him no longer to give himself that trouble, but to sheath his sword, as the Prussians would remain in the city. The inhabitants tried to shut the gates, and prevent the rest of the Prussians from entering; but every precaution had been taken; and baggage waggons judiciously placed towards the gates and bridges, rendered every effort useless. In the space of an hour, the squares and streets were filled with soldiers, and by eight in the morning the city was in the entire possession of the king. A quarter of an hour after, the king, who was at ten leagues distance, received the news of this acquisition, by the successive firing of several cannon placed at intervals of a league from each other, between Breslaw and his head-quarters.

The

The same day field-marshal Schwerin assembled at the town-house the counsellors and leading citizens; he laid before them in the most gracious manner the reasons which had induced the king to place a garrison in the town, in the name of his majesty promised them all his protection, favour, and good graces, and concluded by desiring them to take an oath of fidelity to the king upon the spot, and do homage to him as duke of Silesia. The citizens of Breslau were unable to resist such engaging manners, and took the oath. One head was instantly struck off the Austrian eagles, to convert them into Prussian ones; the cry was, *Long live the king of Prussia, sovereign duke of Silesia!* money was thrown to the people, *Te Deum* sung, and orders were given to the priests to make thanksgiving sermons. General Schwerin, who was much attached to his religion, publicly embraced the Lutheran clergy, and contented himself with giving the catholics his hand. The commandant of the city troops was made a general by the king. This man was compared on this occasion to a Grecian orator, who thus replied to one of his brethren who was one day recounting what he had gained by defending a cause, *And I have gained twice as much by holding my tongue.*

The enemy was approaching with the main body of his forces towards Schweidnitz, where the Prussians had a considerable magazine, and, to cut off all communication with that place, had encamped near Frankenstein. On his side, the king quitted Strehlen where he then was, and encamped near Reichenbach. The
enemy's

enemy's camp was so disposed as to afford no hopes of attacking it with success. The king therefore took another method of making the enemy quit his position, and driving him over the Neisse. He marched by Tœplivode and Munsterberg, to reach the environs of the town of Neisse. The Austrians attempted to take his baggage; but to this end it was necessary to pass by Nimtsch, which was already occupied by colonel Voigt; and they only carried off a few waggons. The 11th of September, the king arrived in the plain of Woitz, in the neighbourhood of Neisse. The enemy, who did not wish to have his communication with the latter place cut off, had decamped and taken post near Otmachau, opposite the king; so that it was impossible to pass the river Neisse on that side. In consequence, the king encamped near Neuendorf, and the 26th of September passed the Neisse without opposition on the side of Kœppitz, to enter Upper Silesia, and force the enemy either to give battle, or retire into Moravia. He threw troops into Oppeln and Crappitz, and approached the enemy, to draw him to an engagement. The 16th of October, he advanced into the plain of Zultz, with the design of fighting; but the Austrians had decamped during the night, and retreated to Jægerndorf.

The fortress of Neisse, which had but a weak garrison, now seemed abandoned to itself. The king divided his army into three parts. With one of them, prince Leopold invested that place; another detachment, commanded by the Count de Truchses, was sent in pursuit of the enemy, and the king with the remainder

der of the army encamped, first, near Schnellenwalde, then in the vicinage of Neumtzt, not far from Neisse. Prince Dietrich of Anholt Dessau was charged to besiege Neisse, and took it the 31st of October.

After the capture of this fortress, the king returned by Brieg and Breslaw to Berlin; and field-marshal Schwerin spread himself over Upper Silesia. Prince Leopold with 10,000 men took possession of the county of Glatz, except the fortress which was invested. Part of his troops penetrated into Bohemia by the circle of Königsgratz. About the same time the elector of Bavaria, after taking Prague, made the inhabitants do him homage in quality of king of Bohemia. This prince, who had much both to fear and hope from the king of Prussia his ally, made no difficulty in ceding to him all his claims on the county of Glatz, which was a dependency of Bohemia.

Towards the end of 1741, the king was in possession of Upper and Lower Silesia and the county of Glatz. In November, he had received in person, at Breslaw, the homage of the princes and states of Silesia. The assembly consisted of 400 persons. We have seen, that, at the commencement, the king limited his pretensions to four principalities and a few feignories. His discourse to the states contained the reasons which authorized him to retain all Silesia. "The sum-total of the revenues," said he, "that the house of Brandenburg has lost since these duchies have been taken from it, greatly surpasses the value of the whole province."

The King confirmed the rights and privileges of the
princes

princes and states, and refused the gift of 100,000 crowns which preceding sovereigns had usually accepted on the day of that ceremony. He gained the nobility by vain titles which flatter pride, without requiring or even supposing merit. He created princes, counts, and barons; distributed crosses, ribbands, and chamberlains keys; granted to some the privilege of being drawn by six horses in their carriage on days of ceremony; and, in order to attach several of them to him, he created provincial offices with the title of *Excellency*, without annexing to them either employment or responsibility.

Protection, religion, imposts; these are the three main objects which interest a people in the government. All his new ordinances either tranquillized the Silesians on these heads, or rendered their situation better. The catholics were not disturbed in their churches, schools, or religious exercises. The protestants received new churches, and ministers, when they demanded and were able to bear the expence of them. The king, to give a striking proof of his toleration, assisted once at the sermon of the Lutherans, and another time at the catholic mass. Cardinal de Sinzendorf, bishop of Silesia, had been a prisoner at the beginning of the war, for carrying on a correspondence with the commandant of Neisse. The king now shewed him every mark of respect, and gave him permission to retire to Vienna during hostilities. (30)

One of the king's first cares was to abolish those arbitrary imposts which desolated Silesia under the house of Austria, and to establish a more equitable

proportion in the repartition. We shall have occasion hereafter to speak of all these operations.

Corn was distributed for their subsistence, and to sow the earth, to the peasants who had suffered by the ravages of war, and the inhabitants of the towns received money and assistance to rebuild their houses. Whilst the conqueror was thus striving to gain the confidence and attachment of his new subjects, part of his army became masters of Moravia, under the orders of field-marshal Schwerin. The fortress of Olmutz surrendered the 27th of December, and prince Leopold, in the king's name, received the homage of the county of Glatz, which he had conquered.

The king of Great Britain was the only one of her allies who prepared to give any efficacious succour to the queen of Hungary; he had taken into his pay Danish and Hessian troops, and considerably augmented the number of those he already had in his German states. In April, 1741, the parliament of England granted an annual subsidy of £.300,000 to the queen of Hungary, and a body of English troops were ready to depart for Germany. These dispositions induced the king of Prussia to form an army of observation, to resist any attacks from that of Hanover. Frederick, who thought himself equally safe on the side of France and Russia, composed this army of the regiments he had left in Westphalia and Prussia. In the month of August, a French army, commanded by the marshal de Maillebois, appeared on the frontiers of Hanover. The king of England, too weak to resist these two armies, and no longer counting on any foreign

reign

reign succour, entered into a convention, rendered necessary by circumstances, and promised to give no assistance to the queen, nor oppose the enterprizes of the king of Prussia and elector of Bavaria against her. In consequence, the king of Prussia withdrew his army, which he sent the ensuing year into Silesia; and the French likewise quitted the frontiers of Hanover.

Towards the end of January, 1742, the king himself traversed the county of Glatz to join the army in Moravia. Prince Lobkowitz, who commanded the Austrian troops, was too feeble to resist him. Brinn, the capital of that principality, was invested. The King advanced with part of his troops as far as the Austrian frontiers, and sent field-marshal Schwerin with an army to Krems, upon the Danube. This general laid Lower Silesia under contribution, and the Prussian hussars pushed their inroads even to the gates of Vienna.

The principal forces of Austria were collected in Bohemia, where the combined troops of France and Bavaria were so weakened as to be no longer able to remain in the country without a reinforcement. In consequence, the king thought it necessary to turn to the side of Bohemia, in order to cover the county of Glatz. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who commanded the Imperialists in Bohemia, endeavoured to steal a march on the king, to prevent him from forming a junction with the French army, and to possess himself of the Prussian magazines at Colin, and at Pardubitz, on the Elbe. The two armies met near the town of Czaflaw, in Bohemia, and, the 17th of May, a battle was fought near the village of Chotusitz.

The Prussian cavalry had improved by war, and in this battle disputed the superiority with that of the Austrians. General Buddenbrok made an attack, which overthrew the first line of the enemy's cavalry. General Rotenbourg drove back some regiments on the right wing, and the Prussian hussars attacked the second line of the Austrians with so much impetuosity, that they were obliged to form *en bataillon carré*, which separated them from the infantry. The Austrian infantry had the advantage of getting possession of the village of Chotusitz, from which they drove the Prussians. On this occasion they took sixteen pair of colours, and made upwards of 1500 prisoners. But the skill and rapidity of the evolutions that distinguish the Prussian tactics, triumphed over every obstacle. The king made the infantry advance from his right wing, and by this evolution the Austrian infantry found themselves attacked in flank before they had time to make any manœuvre. No more was necessary to throw them into disorder and put them to flight. Victory declared for the Prussians. The Austrians, who had lost more than 4000 men, retired towards the Mulda; and the king, whose loss was not far short of theirs, remained near Kuttenberg. Frederick from the field of battle wrote to Louis XV: *Sire, prince Charles attacked me, and I have beat him.*

The fruit of this victory was the peace of Breslaw. From the preceding year, the king of England, the sole ally of the queen of Hungary, had advised that princess to sacrifice a part of Silesia to peace with the king of Prussia. But the court of Vienna had uni-

uniformly rejected his counsels, and determined to wait the issue of the first battle, previous to a decision. The 11th of June, the preliminaries (31) were signed at Breslaw, and the 28th of July peace was concluded at Berlin. (32)

By this treaty, Upper and Lower Silesia were ceded to the king of Prussia, as well as the county of Glatz, with entire independence on the crown of Bohemia; so that only a very small spot of Upper Silesia remained to the queen of Hungary. On his part, the king promised to pay the capitals lent by some English and Dutch individuals to the house of Austria on the security of the Silesian revenue, to suffer the inhabitants of Silesia to pass freely into the Austrian countries, without being compelled to pay any duty to Prussia, and to preserve the catholic religion on its ancient footing.

Some historians of this period pretend that the peace of Breslaw would not have been so speedily concluded but for the marshal de Broglio's refusal, under frivolous pretexts, to unite his army with that of the king previous to the battle of Chotusitz; which refusal is said to have greatly irritated the king, by shewing him what he had to expect from his allies. But it is probable that this was not founded in fact. The marshal de Broglio, at that moment, was in presence of the army of prince Lobkowitz, who lay at Budweis, and had he attempted to advance towards the king, by the circle of Czaflaw, he must have abandoned Prague and the part of Bohemia it was his duty to cover. Besides that the king was as strong as prince Charles, and

stood in no need of assistance from the French to gain the victory.

In July, peace was published and celebrated. Cardinal de Sinzendorf, bishop of Silesia, preached a sermon in the cathedral on this occasion, at which the king assisted. This the German historians have not failed to remark as a very striking singularity; apparently, because it is still more rare to hear cardinals preach, than for kings to be present at sermons.

Several writers have appeared astonished that the king of Prussia should have been the first to assert his claims by force of arms, at a time when he was destitute of allies, and had reason to apprehend that by attacking the house of Austria he should draw upon himself all the powers which had guaranteed the pragmatic sanction. It has been said, on this occasion, that the king of Prussia was more fortunate than prudent. But, on properly weighing matters, it is evident that Frederick's measures could not have been better timed. He began the war when he knew that Silesia was without defence, and the finances of Austria were at the lowest ebb. He knew that the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, as well as the king of Spain, were making pretensions to which the queen would not concede. The court of France had long been allied with Bavaria, and compelled by policy to support her in her pretensions. He foresaw that all these powers must shortly take up arms to assert their claims, and that, if he could succeed in giving a new turn to affairs, his friendship and alliance would be sought by them all. He had nothing to dread on the side of Sweden, Denmark, and Poland.

Poland. The first had ranged herself on the side of France, the two others were too weak. There remained then only Russia, England, and Holland, who were able to oppose any obstacles to his conquests. He knew likewise how to secure himself in this respect. The court of Russia, convulsed since the death of the empress Anne, by important revolutions, had a war with the Swedes, which prevented her from interfering in the affairs of Germany. The projects of the king of England were suspended by the army of observation Frederick opposed to his troops; and the French army approaching the frontiers of Hanover on the side of the Rhine, the court of England was under the necessity of signing the treaty of neutrality we have mentioned. As for the Dutch, the king knew their pacific system, and that their proximity to France rendered it impossible for them to take a part. Such was nearly the state of affairs in Europe during the year 1741; let us now cast an eye on some particular transactions which at the same period occupied the court of Prussia.

The most important was the election of an emperor. On the 17th of November, 1740, baron de Groschlag, ambassador from the elector of Mayence, solemnly invited the king of Prussia to attend the election. The grand equerry Schwerin, and the minister of state de Broik, were nominated to repair in the king's name to Frankfort on the Main, where the election was to take place on the 1st of March, 1741. But events suddenly sprang up which postponed this election for a whole year. The queen of Hungary had bestowed on

her husband, grand-duke of Florence and duke of Lorraine, the co-regency, and the electoral voice attached to the crown of Bohemia. The king of Poland, in quality of elector of Saxony, opposed this arrangement, pretending that it was contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire and the pragmatic sanction. The elector palatine proposed to the elector of Mayence, to defer the election for three or ~~four~~ months, on account of the war of Silesia, and the difficulties which had arisen on the subject of the Bohemian suffrage. The king of Prussia, as well as the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, joined with the elector palatine in demanding this delay. At length it was agreed that the election should be made by the few ambassadors who were at Frankfort, and only by the way of deliberations. Attempts were made to remove the difficulties occasioned by the electoral voice of Bohemia, and it was determined, by a plurality of votes, to suspend the suffrage for this time, without forming a precedent. The Bohemian ambassador immediately protested against this resolution, and quitted Frankfort. The king afterwards gave his voice to Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, who was chosen emperor in 1742, under the name of Charles VII. This prince had dispatched ambassadors to the king of Prussia, then in Silesia, to secure his vote, and form a strict union with him. The count de Belleisle seconded the demands of the elector, and every thing was settled. By the treaty of Nymphenbourg France had engaged to support the duke of Bavaria with troops and money. In consequence, two considerable
French

French armies appeared in Germany, one of which joined the troops of Bavaria, and made conquests in Austria and Bohemia; whilst the other approached the frontiers of Hanover, to prevent the king of England from assisting Maria-Theresa. Spain, in virtue of her pretensions to the succession of Austria, had armed to give them efficacy, and acceded to the alliance of France and Bavaria. She had sent an ambassador to the king of Prussia's camp, with the view of forcing the house of Austria to cede to her the countries she demanded, and to confer the Imperial crown on the elector of Bavaria. In September the king concluded an alliance with France, Spain, and Bavaria, and, after the conquest of Bohemia, Charles VII. ceded to him the county of Glatz under the title of an independent sovereignty.

From the beginning, Saxony had opposed the dispositions of the queen on the subject of the electoral suffrage of Bohemia, and in the spring assembled troops with the view of supporting her pretensions. But the formal rupture did not take place before the beginning of November, when the troops of the elector entered Bohemia. The Saxon ambassador, who had accompanied the king into Silesia, formed, in that month, an union between the two courts, by virtue of which the Saxon troops were put under the king's command, and they served him as his own in his Moravian expedition.

Whilst the French, the Bavarians, the Spaniards, and the Saxons, were endeavouring, on one hand, to engage the king to continue the war, and to contribute
to

to their project of humbling the house of Austria, England and Holland, on the other, were striving to unite by treaty the houses of Austria and Brandenburg. The ambassadors of England, Holland, and Brunswick, who followed the king into Silesia, laboured with ardor for this peace. But their propositions were by no means of a satisfactory nature. Towards the end of 1741, it was generally reported throughout Europe, that the courts of Berlin and Vienna had signed articles of peace in the month of October. This report was formally contradicted, and orders were sent to the Prussian envoys at every court to declare the contrary. The following was the origin of this false rumour.

We know that when the French army entered Germany, and the designs of the courts of Munich and of Dresden were no longer doubtful, the queen of Hungary found herself compelled by circumstances to offer part of Silesia to the king, and to endeavour to make peace with him, that she might be the better able to resist her other enemies. Lord Hyndford, the English ambassador in Prussia, received orders to make the propositions, and conferences were held in the castle of Klein-Schnellendorf, situated in Upper Silesia. They terminated in nothing, and the king continued the war. In 1744, when it broke out afresh, the court of Vienna reproached the king with a breach of the convention of Schnellendorf, and published the act of this convention, (33) signed the 9th of October, 1741. But it is only necessary to read that act to be convinced that it was merely an agreement meant to
serve

serve as the basis of a treaty which eventually took place. The articles 7 and 8 clearly express that the treaty on the subject of the cession of Silesia should not be concluded till towards the end of December; and it is said in article 17, that the negociators shall meet again in spring, to take the necessary steps, in case peace should not be made. This was evidently no real convention obligatory on one side or the other. Towards the end of 1741, the negociations were broken off, and the war continued.

The court of Russia negociated likewise on the subject of the king's enterprizes on Silesia. De Brackel, the minister of state, was sent to him to make representations, and to declare that the court of Petersburgh saw itself under the necessity of fulfilling its engagements with that of Vienna. In fact, as soon as the grand-duchess Anne mounted the throne, she put her troops in motion towards the frontiers of Livonia. This princess entertained very favourable sentiments of the court of Vienna, and the count de Munich, her first minister, lost all his places, on account of his attachment to the court of Prussia. In these circumstances, the king sent colonel de Winterfeld, son-in-law of count Munich, to Petersburgh, with fresh instructions to his envoy at the court of Russia. But the war with Sweden changed the face of affairs, and Russia no longer thought of supporting Maria-Theresa.

Sweden and Denmark, who had ambassadors in Silesia, also recommended peace. But their negociations were directed by partial views. The king of Denmark, who saw that of Sweden on the brink of the grave, wished

wished to give the crown of that kingdom to his son, and had formed a considerable party amongst the Swedes. In consequence, he was striving to engage foreign powers to favour his designs, or at least to throw no obstacle in the way of them. Sweden had resolved to go to war with Russia. The council of state, knowing that an alliance subsisted between that empire and Prussia, endeavoured to divert the king from furnishing the Russians with succours; an object not difficult to attain, after the sentiments expressed by the court of Petersburg on the subject of Silesia.

The enemies of Prussia thought also to awaken against her the spirit of fanaticism and superstition, those dangerous weapons which render the people so ferocious when put into their hands. It was suggested as matter of imminent danger for the catholic religion, that a large province, like Silesia, where it had always been predominant, should become subject to a protestant prince, such as the king of Prussia; it was represented to the republic of Poland, that she was in great danger from such a neighbour; and it was asserted, that the king, who only thought of making conquests, would soon fall upon the bishoprics of Wirtzburg and Hildesheim. The king, apprized of all these intrigues, ordered his minister at Ratisbon to declare that it was very remote from his intention to trouble any person whatever in the exercise of his religion; and that he would never suffer an attack to be made on the liberty of any of the three forms of worship acknowledged in the empire. He afterwards published a Latin memorial, wherein he proved that
there

there would be no danger to the catholic religion, or to Poland, should he unite Silesia to his other states. (34)

The individuals in England and Holland, who had lent eight millions of florins to the Imperial court on the security of Silesia, were greatly apprehensive of not being paid. But the king declared publicly at the Hague and in London, that he would discharge those debts in proportion as he should get possession of Silesia, and this promise was fulfilled by the 9th article of the treaty of Breslaw.

Attempts were likewise made to interrupt the good understanding that reigned between Saxony and Prussia. A publication appeared in which motives were sought to ground pretensions on the part of Prussia to some portion of Lusatia. (35) The king, who had not participated in it, had it suppressed, and ordered a prosecution against the author, if found within his dominions. He declared, at the same time, by his envoy at the diet of Ratisbon, that he had no more designs upon Lusatia than upon the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Wirtzburg, for which reason he had condemned the publication in question.

He negociated with the houses of Wirtemberg, Brunswick, and Saxe Eisenach, for some regiments. Wirtemberg gave him two, Eisenach one, and Brunswick furnished some hundreds of recruits to complete the new regiment of fusileers of prince Ferdinand of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel. The princes of Schwartzbourg also ceded to Prussia those companies of their troops which had till then remained at Rostok, under the title of Imperial troops.

A treaty

A treaty was entered into with the king of Denmark, in quality of duke of Holstein, by which Holstein-Gluckstadt, or the royal line of Holstein, and the ducal line of the same house, were received into the number of the ancient princely houses which have alternately a vote and a seat at the diet of Ratisbon, and precedence was granted to them over the principality of Minden.

In 1741, private treaties were concluded with the electors of Bavaria and Saxony for delivering up deserters. The treaty the king formed with Russia in 1740, was of but little utility, as we have seen that this power was disposed to support the queen of Hungary; and that would infallibly have been the case, but for the war with Sweden, which demanded all her forces.

The king learning also that the court of Vienna was attempting to levy a sum of 1,200,000 florins in Holland for duties on the Scheld, protested against this project, and it did not take place.

At the commencement of January, 1742, the king celebrated the marriage of prince Augustus-William, his next brother, father of Frederick-William II. the present reigning monarch, with princess Louisa Amelia of Brunswick, and shortly after set off to rejoin his army in Moravia.

T H I R D P E R I O D.FROM THE PEACE OF BRESLAW TO THE PEACE OF
DRESDEN.1742—1745.

ON the king's return from Silesia, he formed the project of going to take the waters of Aix-la-Chapelle, and set out from Potzdam the 20th of August; from Aix he went to Minden and Salzdahlen, where he paid a visit to the ducal house of Brunswick, and returned the 11th of September to Potzdam. In this journey he saw his regiments in Westphalia. Some time after he made a tour in Silesia with his two eldest brothers and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. He passed some days at Breslaw, visited all the fortresses of Upper Silesia, and returned to Berlin the 2d of October. The labours and expences of the war had not extinguished in him the taste for music and the arts. He built a fine opera-house at Berlin, and sent for singers to Italy, and to Paris for male and female dancers; and the principal ones were better paid than his ministers. The first opera was given the 1st of December, 1742: the subject was Cleopatra; the music Graun's.

He did not, however, neglect business for his pleasures; the conquest of Silesia, confirmed by the treaty
of

of Breslaw, had a great influence on several other political transactions. Shortly after, the king made a treaty with the elector palatine, relative to the succession of Berg and Juliers. King Frederick-William had done every thing in his power to terminate the differences relative to this succession, on which he had incontestable claims; but the elector palatine had found means to obtain the guaranty of France for the possession of Juliers and Berg in the palatine house of Sultzbach, and the consent of the emperor Charles VI. for the eventual possession of these countries in that house. There was every appearance, that, after the death of the elector palatine, Charles Philip, who was very old, the king would not be able to recover these countries but by force of arms; but an opportunity offered of coming to an amicable arrangement, which did not escape him. When the king leagued himself with France and the emperor Charles VII. in 1741, against the house of Austria, these two powers granted him the possession of Silesia, and at the same time mediated a treaty between him and the palatine house of Sultzbach, by virtue of which the ~~after the death of the elector palatine, Charles Philip,~~ who was very old, the king would not be able to re-
~~tain and restore him to that house.~~

Saxony was dissatisfied that peace was concluded without her. Frederick sent an ambassador to Dresden to remove the unfavourable impressions of that court; but his efforts were fruitless, and that power soon allied itself with Austria.

The 18th of November, 1742, the king concluded a reciprocal defensive treaty with England, and soon after

afterwards Russia acceded to the peace of Breslaw. A report was circulated, that the king was about to send an army of 30,000 men to Cleves, to punish the Dutch, who had been on the point of sending succours to the queen of Hungary; Frederick removed their uneasiness by his envoy at the Hague; and, far from strengthening that quarter, he drew from Wesel 100 pieces of heavy artillery, which he sent into Silesia.

In 1743, the king made several tours in his states and into Franconia. In March he went into Silesia to view the new fortifications he had constructed. The months of May, June, and July, were employed in reviewing the troops in the principal towns in his dominions. In September he went on a visit to his sister at Bareith, and *Voltaire* was of the party. At Anspach he found the count de Seckendorf, the Imperial general, who invited him to see his army, encamped at eight leagues distance from that town. Frederick accepted the invitation; the army filed before him, and shewed him all the honours of war.

During the same year he laboured with ardor to encrease his military force, and put himself in a condition ~~to receive the troops in the principal towns in his dominions.~~ In September he went on a visit to his sister ~~from whom he received reports in foreign countries,~~ augmented his companies, created new regiments, repaired the old fortresses, built new ones, and neglected nothing that could add to his forces and his power.

At the commencement of 1744, after the pleasures of the carnival and a journey into Silesia, Frederick went to the waters of Pyrmont, where he remained till the month of June. (36) During his residence at

this place, the last duke of Ost-Friesland died, and left a rich and considerable principality to the crown of Prussia.

In 1694, the emperor Leopold had given the house of Brandenburg the reversion of this principality, and the rights of Frederick were incontestable. As soon as he was apprized of the death of the prince, he detached 4000 men from the garrison of Wesel to take possession of Ost-Friesland. No difficulty was met with; the king's commissaries received homage in his name, and made new arrangements in the province. The states were assembled, their ancient grievances redressed, the country was exempted from enlistments and military quarters for the annual sum of 40,000 crowns, 14 pieces of cannon were restored to the town of Emden, which the prince's troops had taken from it on different occasions, and the inhabitants were assured that these cannon should never more be turned against them.

The states-general, who had pecuniary demands upon the prince and states, had, for above an hundred years, kept garrisons at Emden and Leerort; the king promised payment, and directed the Hollanders to withdraw. They did not want much entreaty, and Frederick put garrisons into the chief places of the principality.

After he had thus taken possession, the king demanded investiture by the emperor, and presented himself to the diet to enjoy the voice of the princes of Ost-Friesland. But the king of England and the count of Wied and Runkel delivered memorials to the diet against his pretensions. The former, in quality of elec-

tor of Brunswick and Lunenberg, founded himself on a pact of succession executed in 1691 with the princes of Ost-Friesland, but against which Prussia had protested, as entered into without the consent of the emperor, and as contrary to the laws of the empire. The count of Wied demanded this succession in right of his wife, pretending that it was a mixed fief, which females might inherit. This dispute continued till the following year, and was never terminated; but the king remained in possession of the principality.

The article of the treaty of Breslaw, which most sensibly affected the enemies of the house of Austria, was that by which the king withdrew from their alliance. When cardinal Fleury announced this news to Louis XV. that prince exclaimed, *Then my army in Bohemia is lost!* This apprehension was well founded. From that moment, the combined army of France and Bavaria was the victim of a concatenation of disasters, of which there are few examples. Towards the end of 1742, the 30,000 men which remained of that army, and the two marshals of France, Belleisle and Broglio, were shut up in the fortrefs of Prague, and besieged, or rather starved, by the Austrian army. (37) The French marshals, who suffered less from famine than the common men, blushed at being obliged to surrender, and sacrificed to a vain point of honour the life of the citizen and the soldier.

In the month of December the garrison was reduced to 14,000 men. In the middle of this month Belleisle resolved to withdraw from Prague and out of Bohemia. After nine days march, he arrived at Eger with 8000

of his remaining troops. Six thousand had been destroyed by the cold, by famine, and the Croats. And France has no Xenophon to immortalize this retreat! There was no longer in Bohemia any enemy of Austria. Maria-Theresa was crowned at Prague in April, 1743. Her troops made the conquest of Bavaria, and formed a junction with the English army. The French were beat the 26th of July near Dettingen, and forced to repass the Rhine. Charles VII. had lost his electorate, and his feebleness alone induced the enemy to leave him a retreat in the middle of his empire. Lord Stair, the English general, out of respect to his dignity, and still more from compassion for his misfortunes, secured him a quiet retirement at Frankfort on the Main. The fate of this prince was in fact deplorable, and he saw himself too severely punished for having served as an instrument in the designs of France. In the end, his feeble troops declared themselves neuter, and the elector of Cologne, his own brother, received a subsidy from England, and espoused the Austrian party. Charles, finding himself abandoned, wished to make a treaty with England, and demanded only 100,000 crowns for his necessary expences; but the parliament replied, that it was impolitic to relieve France from the burthen of such an ally. Such was the success of the projects of France; and Belleisle had boasted that he was going to dictate the law to Maria-Theresa on the ramparts of Vienna.

This princess was elated by the success of her arms, and animated by the idea of the oppression with which she had been menaced. The treaty of Worms had procured

cured her a new ally in the person of the king of Sardinia; Holland and England were marching numerous armies for her defence; the emperor was no longer regarded but as an object of pity; the greatest part of the electors and princes of the empire inclined towards her; and she had formed an alliance with the elector of Saxony, to secure him in her interest. Thus did the whole burthen of the war fall on France and Spain. The latter had not attacked but on the side of Italy. France, who had hitherto appeared only as the ally of the emperor, declared war against the queen of Hungary and the king of England in the beginning of 1744. The king of the Two Sicilies acceded to the alliance of France and Spain, and Europe seemed menaced with a long war.

France attacked the king of England in quality of elector of Hanover, and threatened his German possessions. This prince instantly demanded of the king of Prussia the auxiliary aid of 10,000 men, agreeable to the treaty of West-Munster. Frederick answered, that as France complained of having received offence, and considered the king of England as the aggressor, he must examine the arguments of both parties, before he determined on giving his assistance.

It was natural to regard the advantageous situation of Maria-Theresa as a consequence of the preponderance of Prussia, and of the peace she had concluded with Frederick. This prince felt all his influence, and could not resist the desire of rendering himself the arbiter of all these powers, and of procuring by his succour advantageous conditions for the weakest.

The 13th of May, 1744, he contracted an alliance at Frankfort on the Main with Charles VII. France, the Palatinate, and Hesse, against the house of Austria. (38) The object, as was said, was to support the Germanic constitution, to restore peace to Germany, and maintain the Imperial dignity. In consequence, it was agreed to try every possible method of mildness and mediation to engage the court of Vienna to acknowledge the emperor, to restore his electorate and hereditary possessions, and to deliver to him the archives of the empire, which were at Vienna. It was proposed, likewise, to establish a general truce in Germany, in order that all the states might endeavour to terminate, by equitable means, the differences still subsisting on the subject of the succession of the house of Austria.

As it was foreseen that the court of Vienna would not accede to the above propositions, these pacific mediations were only adopted as a pretext for taking an interest in the war; and, in fact, the Prussian ambassador at Vienna, seeing that all these representations were of no effect, left that city the 9th of August, declaring, *that it was with regret the king his master found himself compelled to proceed to extremities with the court of Vienna, and to send succours to the emperor.* The 10th, a writing (39) was communicated to all the foreign ministers at Berlin, setting forth the motives which induced the king to assist the emperor, and which was concluded with these words: *The king demands nothing for himself; he has only taken up arms to restore*

restore to the empire of Germany her liberty, to the emperor his dignity, and repose to Europe.

The court of Vienna published a secret article, which she alledged to be a part of the treaty of Frankfort. It imported that the king of Prussia was to assist the emperor to conquer Bohemia, for which service he was to keep and incorporate with Silesia the slip of that kingdom situated between the Elbe and Silesia, from Kœnigsgratz to the frontiers of Saxony.

The king publicly denied the existence of this secret article, and declared it to be a fiction. (40)

The king had quitted Potzdam the 15th of August, with his two brothers, the hereditary prince and prince Henry, and followed his army, which marched in three columns. The first, led by the king himself, passed through Saxony, and encamped the 25th at Peterstal, in Bohemia; the second, commanded by the hereditary prince of Dessau, traversed Lusatia, passed by Zittau and Crottau, in Bohemia, and encamped on the 31st at Brandeis. General Schwerin conducted the third, which at first took post in the circle of Kœnigsgratz. These three columns formed a junction the 4th of September, in order to lay siege to Prague.

To reduce this town it was necessary to wait for the heavy artillery, which a strong escort commanded by major-general de Bonin was transporting by the Elbe. The Austrians had choaked up the course of this river by sinking boats laden with stones, and placed a garrison in the castle of Teschen, situated on the Elbe, and which commands all the adjacent country. Colonel de Kahlbutz took this castle, making the

garrison prisoners; and the cannon could then be advanced without any obstacle as far as Leutmeritz on the Elbe, whence it was conveyed by land to Prague. The city was bombarded, and surrendered. The garrison, consisting of 20,000 newly enlisted soldiers, were made prisoners.

When the Prussian army entered Bohemia, Austria had not forces to resist it. Count Bathiani, who commanded in Bavaria, was ordered, after leaving a sufficient garrison in that country, to fly with the remainder of his troops to the relief of Prague; but, in spite of all his diligence, he could only reach the circle of Raconitz, which he entered when the Prussians were already at the gates of Prague. This general, who had only 20,000 men, could not venture to risk a battle. He pushed forward general Festetitz with a powerful advanced guard, and, during the siege of Prague, fortified himself at Iditz, behind Beraun. He formed his advanced post at the last place, giving it a strong garrison. The 5th of September, the king detached count Haacke, with five battalions and six hundred hussars, to take this town, which was six leagues from Prague. The operation began the 6th. The enemy proved stronger than had been imagined. Festetitz returned to the assistance of the besieged, and Haacke, being wounded, retreated in a square, which procured him commendations and rewards from the king. The Prussian infantry were so firm, that the repeated attacks of general Luchese, who commanded the enemy's cavalry, could never break them.

On the entrance of the Prussian troops into Prague,
the

the king made the inhabitants take an oath of fidelity to the emperor, and left in it a Prussian garrison. As the winter was approaching, he wished to avail himself of the little time the season still left him. The heavy baggage of the army was conveyed to Prague, that he might have less impediment in his march. He sent forward, at the same time, lieutenant-general de Nassau, with 10 battalions and 30 squadrons, for the purpose of collecting magazines of provisions and forage for his army, which was to follow, and of taking Tabor, Budweis, and Frauenberg, then occupied by the enemy. The general acquitted himself of all these commissions with as much success as alacrity. Tabor surrendered the 23d of September, Budweis the 30th, and Frauenberg shortly afterwards.

The 19th of September, the king left Prague, and repaired by Tabor and Bechin to Tein, where he arrived the 3d of October. Nassau had formed his principal magazine at Tabor, which was very commodious for the march of the king's army. Prince Charles of Lorraine, however, now arrived with the main army from the Rhine, after having pursued the French even into Alsace. It was composed of 90,000 men, including 24,000 Saxons who had joined him. He formed a junction likewise with Bathiani, which the king was unable to prevent, and took such advantageous positions, and performed such skilful marches, as always to avoid a decisive action, and he continually drove the Prussian troops from one post to another.

This junction took place the 1st of October. The elector of Saxony, by declaring himself against the king
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of Prussia, had reinforced the army of his enemies, and prevented that of the Prussians which was in Bohemia from receiving provisions by the Elbe.

The 3d, the king passed the Mulda and encamped in the environs of Wodnian, where he caused general de Nassau to approach him. Prince Charles made some movements which seemed to have a tendency to cut off all communication between the king and Prague, from whence he drew his provisions; which obliged him to retreat. The prince's light troops, which were greatly superior to those of the king, were constantly employed in intercepting the supplies of the Prussians, and general Janus had a smart skirmish with them near Mühlhausen, in which they did not gain the advantage. The 8th, the king, seeing that the enemy was so advantageously encamped that it was impossible to attack him with any prospect of success, repassed the Mulda near Tein. General Nadaſti also passes that river, takes post beyond Tein, and blocks up Tabor, where prince Henry, the king's brother, lay sick, and where was a great magazine, with all the baggage. Colonel Kalnein, who commanded the fortress, refused to surrender, and repulsed several assaults; the besiegers retired, and general de Nassau, whom the king had sent with 8 battalions and 35 squadrons to raise the siege, found no enemy on his arrival. In the retreat from Tein to Tabor, the king had formed his rear-guard of the grenadier battalions of Saint Surin and Geist, supported by the hussar regiments of Zieten and Ruesch. The 9th, general Nadaſti attacked the posts of Tein, but the grenadiers and hussars made so vigorous

rous a resistance, that the march continued to the king's army without losing a single article of baggage.

The king passed Bechin and Tabor to reach Kono-
pisch, and, on the 18th of October, encamped near
that place. Prince Charles crossed the Mulda the 15th
to follow him, and encamped near Chlumetz. This
position cut off all communication between the Prussian
garrisons of Tabor, Budweis, and Frauenberg, and
the king's army; and the auxiliary Saxon corps, which
had passed the Mulda the 21st of October near Wo-
worn, joined the Austrian army the next day near
Wosieczan. A detachment of Austrian grenadiers and
light troops from Moravia attempted, under the con-
duct of Colonel Franquini, to take by stratagem a
Prussian magazine at Pardubitz, in the rear of the ar-
my; but the garrison defended it so well that the assail-
ants were repulsed with considerable loss. This was
on the 19th of October. Some Austrian grenadiers,
disguised as peasants, advanced towards the place
with waggons loaded with forage, and were secretly
followed by a considerable troop, who were to enter
the fortress with them. But the stratagem was dis-
covered, and the enemy obliged to retire after setting
fire to the magazine.

The number of Austrian light troops which scoured
the country on every side, prevented the Prussian gar-
risons from receiving the king's orders, who wished
them to withdraw. Major-general Creutzer, who com-
manded at Budweis, maintained a siege of eleven
days, and killed 10 officers and 200 soldiers of the be-
siegers. At length, being destitute of powder, he was
obliged

obliged to surrender with his garrison. Colonel Kalnein defended himself till the 23d of October, in the fortress of Tabor, against the efforts of general Ghilani, but, having no hopes of succour, was likewise compelled to surrender; as well as major Conradi, who commanded at Frauenberg; and both of them with their garrisons were made prisoners the same day.

The king was unable to oppose these conquests, Prince Charles having taken a very advantageous position at three leagues distance from him. He resolved to attack him notwithstanding, and, the 24th of October, advanced near the left wing of the enemy, which was in great measure composed of the Saxon auxiliaries. Between him and the army of the enemy was a marshy rivulet, which stopped him in his march, and prevented the attack. The next day, the king made a fresh attempt to take the prince's army in flank, but the Prussians found, on their arrival in the environs of Neweklow, such a number of ponds and morasses, that the cavalry could not approach the enemy. The king withdrew his army into the camp of Konopischt, and general de Nassau led the rear-guard. Soon afterwards, the king formed the project of returning by Zassawa, and sent Nassau to possess himself of the passages of Commerbourg and Zassawa, which were favourable to this rout, but in the enemy's possession. The prince dislodged general Ghilani, who occupied these posts, and pursued his march to Colin, where he established himself in the best manner he could. The 26th of October, the king passed likewise by Zassawa, and posted himself near Pischeli. He wished to take the
post

post of Kuttenberg, but prince Charles had placed a garrison there before his arrival, and the Prussian army, which was advancing to Colin by Zasmuck and Costeletz, found mount St. John, in front of Kuttenberg, already guarded by a detachment of the enemy of 8000 men, and the whole Austrian army so encamped as to render it impossible to approach. The king encamped near Colin the 4th of November, but the rigour of the season and the want of forage made him take the resolution of putting his troops into winter quarters behind the Elbe. He passed that river the 8th, and took such a position on the right bank as to be ready to cover his posts of Colin and Pardubitz. He formed also, from league to league, stations of grenadiers and hussars to observe the enemy, and apprize him in time, should he attempt to cross the Elbe. Nassau remained at Colin with 13 battalions and 10 squadrons, to defend these posts, and he three times repulsed the enemy, who tried to get possession of them.

The 15th of November, the army of the enemy, having in vain endeavoured to pass the Elbe near Pardubitz and Przelautsch, again attempted it in another place. As the river is fordable in several parts between Colin and Pardubitz, it was easy for the Austrians to dispatch hussars to the other side, who posted themselves in ambuscade in a large wood, and at the moment of the passage drove off the Prussian officers and hussars placed there on the look out. The 19th, in the morning, a corps of Hungarian and Saxon grenadiers, commanded by the generals de Schulenburg and Haxthausen, passed the river in two places near Teinitz.

Teinitz. The battalion of grenadiers of Wedel, supported by that of Buddenbrok, defended themselves courageously for some time, but at length were obliged to yield to numbers: the whole Austrian army passed, and the communication was cut off with Colin. This forced the king to think of means to facilitate the junction of general Nassau, who was at that place. In consequence, immediately after the passage, he took post near Wischeniowitz, and the enemy having advanced towards Chlumetz, he encamped so near their army as to prevent them from any longer opposing the retreat of Nassau, who passed by Neu-Byczow and Nechanitz, and joined the main army of the Prussians the 24th of November. This retreat passed for a chef d'œuvre.

The king now thought of retiring from Bohemia into Silesia. He passed by Koenigsgratz, Jaromirs, and Trautenau. The 27th of November, an action happened near Jaromirs. The enemy attacked the rear-guard of the Prussians, but were repulsed after a firing of four hours, with equal loss on both sides. The heavy artillery and baggage were attacked between Liebau and Trautenau. Major-general de Boffe was escorting them with a considerable detachment. Upon coming to blows, the Prussians defended themselves so bravely, that not a single waggon was lost. In the beginning of December, all the Prussian troops had quitted Bohemia, except the garrison of Prague.

When the Austrians had passed the Elbe, the garrison of Prague, commanded by lieutenant-general Einsidel, found themselves cut off from the main body of
the

the army. They received orders, therefore, to abandon the place, and retire into Silesia. This retreat, which was not unlike a flight, could not be made without considerable loss. The soldiers had orders to leap over the fortifications. To effect this without danger, it was necessary early to abandon the posts, which gave the inhabitants time to get possession of the gates and ramparts. The enemy, who were in the neighbourhood with 500 men, entered the town, and occupied the passages, before the van-guard of the Prussians had entirely evacuated it, and were enabled to attack their rear. The Prussians were obliged to leave at Prague some thousands of sick soldiers, and the greatest part of their baggage and cannon. The army was retreating by Belwarn, Leutmeritz, Leipa, and Gabel. But when the corps commanded by Einsidel had reached Reichenberg, he mistook his way, took the left instead of the right, fell in with a body of Saxons commanded by general Arnim, and was compelled to encamp near Hohwalde. The enemy was greatly superior, and the situation of Einsidel extremely disagreeable. But the king sent general de Nassau with 12,000 men to disengage him. The Saxons then fearing to find themselves between two fires, retreated towards Reichenberg, and left the passages open. The 16th of December, this unfortunate garrison arrived, overcome with fatigue, in Silesia, where they went into winter quarters. (41)

When the king entered Bohemia in 1744, he had left in Upper Silesia, under the command of general Marwitz, a corps of between 15 and 18,000 men, who were encamped near Neustadt, in the principality of

of Oppeln. This corps was destined not only to make inroads into Moravia, and lay that province under contribution, but to defend Silesia against the incursions of the Hungarians. For count Palfy, palatine of Hungary, had written a circular letter in the name of the queen to all the Hungarian nobility, to invite them to take up arms. The Hungarians assembled in December, 1744, and marched against Silesia, as soon as the Prussian troops quitted Bohemia.

The king thought to stop them by arguments; and general Marwitz, by his orders, issued a publication, wherein they were assured that peace was the only object in view, and that there was not the smallest intention of molesting them. (42) The Hungarians were deaf to this reasoning, and the general was neither able to establish himself in Moravia, nor exact contributions beyond the frontiers. In September, he placed garrisons in all the Austrian part of Upper Silesia, formed a fortified camp near Troppau, and with a detachment commanded by colonels Calsou and Malachoufki dislodged the hussars and provincial regiments which were near Fulneck and Wagstadt, and drove them into the heart of Moravia. In October, he prepared, by the aid of the Silesian peasants, to remove the abattis which blocked up the passages of Moravia; but the insurgents on the one hand, and detachments of the Austrian army on the other, obliged him, in the month of December, to abandon Troppau and Jægerndorf, and retire to Oppeln.

The king, who returned to Berlin the 13th of December from Schweidnitz, left the command of the whole

whole army in Silesia to prince Leopold of Dessau. This veteran hero preserved the posts of the frontiers of Bohemia destined to cover Lower Silesia; reinforced the body of troops near Frankenstein under general Leuwald; and collected 25 battalions and 90 squadrons in the environs of Otmachau and Neisse, with the design of repelling the enemy who had entered Lower Silesia; in which he succeeded, as we shall shortly see.

The success of the Austrian arms inspired the queen of Hungary with hopes of re-conquering Silesia. She signified this intention, and strove to gain the affection of the inhabitants by a manifesto (43) and by kindness. By the former, she declared to the Silesians, that the king of Prussia had broken the treaty of Breslaw, by which she had ceded to him Silesia, and that, in consequence, they were to consider her as their lawful sovereign. The king replied by a publication of the same nature, (44) inviting the Silesians to remain faithful to him, and prohibiting them from favouring, in any way whatever, the enterprizes of the enemy. He claimed, by letters of recal, all his subjects of that country in the service of the queen, who, on her side, forbade the inhabitants of Silesia and Glatz to obey this order, since the peace of Breslaw allowed them to serve which of the two powers they thought proper; and the province of Silesia belonged to her, after the rupture of the treaty. All these publications availed nothing without arms. Prince Charles came into Silesia on the 18th of December with the main Austrian army; but his possession

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session of it was of short duration, for the prince of Dessau expelled him the following month.

The Austrian army now quitted Upper Silesia with the utmost diligence, and retired into the mountains on the frontiers of Moravia, breaking down, in their march, all the bridges in their passage. The prince also drove the enemy from the environs of Patſchkaw, Weidenaw, and Johannisberg. Lieutenant-general Leuwald was entrusted with and executed this commission, whilst count Podewils expelled them from the vicinity of Oppeln. Major-general Kalsow and colonel Schwerin marched against general Caroli, who had invaded the territories of Rosenberg, Bernstadt, and Oels, and forced him to abandon that country; the fortress of Cosel, which had been invested, was relieved; and lieutenant-general de Nassau, sent to Ratibor with a body of troops, had distinguished himself in those countries, and placed garrisons in Ratibor, Huetschin, Oderberg, and Beneschaw.

Leuwald had orders to drive the enemy from the county of Glatz. The 4th of February there was a pretty smart action near Habelswerth. Leuwald remained master of the field of battle, and the enemy evacuated the county. The troops withdrew into winter quarters, but did not long enjoy repose; for, in the month of March, the insurgents again appeared in crowds in the principalities of Oppeln and Ratibor.

In April, the combined troops of Austria and Saxony, which had wintered on the frontiers of Moravia and Bohemia, got into motion, and advanced towards Koenigsgratz. Their light troops, commanded by
general

general Nadaſti, entered the territory of Lower Sileſia, and the infurgents again began to ſpread themſelves over Upper Sileſia. The 8th of April, they attacked Roſenberg, and took major de Schafſtedt, the commandant, priſoner, as well as lieutenant-colonel Davied, who had marched to his aſſiſtance. From this period there were almoſt daily ſkirmiſhes. Major-general Hautcharmoi and colonel Winterfeldt made ſome hundreds of the infurgents priſoners near Groſſtrelitz and Wirbitz; and the king, who had no doubt of the intention of the combined army to make an irruption into Lower Sileſia, made every preparation to receive them. He withdrew his troops from Upper Sileſia, and aſſembled all his forces in the principality of Schweidnitz.

The 22d of April, count Dohna retreated from Troppau and its environs. The enemy's huſſars attempted to purſue him, but lieutenant-colonel Dewitz repulſed them, and the march was ſucceſſful. The magazine of Jægerndorf was transferred to Neuſtadt; but the enemy attacked the convoy of general de Rochow, and took ſome waggons.

The 22d of May, the margrave Charles quitted Jægerndorf and retired to Neuſtadt. In his march he was attacked by a conſiderable body of the enemy's troops, with whom he had a very ſharp action, in which the Auſtrians loſt many men. Two days afterwards, Neuſtadt was attacked, but without ſucceſs, though the gariſon was feeble.

In April, all the Pruſſians being withdrawn from the mountains towards Schweidnitz, the light troops

of the Austrian van occupied the towns of Hirschberg, Landshout, and Schmiedeberg, and every where levied heavy contributions. The king sent colonel Winterfeldt, supported by the generals du Moulin and Stille, into the country of Landshout; and, the 1st of May, Winterfeldt attacked some hundreds of the enemy, and took up his quarters the 20th near Landshout. There he was attacked, on the 22d, by the Austrian advanced guard, and surrounded on every side. After a battle of five hours, Mœllendorff's regiment of dragoons came to his assistance, under the conduct of general de Stille; the enemy was driven from the heights, and pursued as far as the plain of Griffau. (45)

When the Prussian troops withdrew from Upper Silesia, the enemy took advantage of their absence, and, on the 27th of May, the Austrians took by assault the little fortrefs of Cosel, on the Oder. It was guarded by a battalion of the regiment of Saldern; major-general de Saldern, the commandant, died a few days before, and colonel de Foris commanded in his place. An ensign, who had deserted, discovered to the enemy the most advantageous method of conducting the attack. Colonel Buccow profited by his advice; the place was taken, and the garrison made prisoners.

The 13th of March, the king had set out to join his army in Silesia, and stopped at Neisse. As the march of the combined army was no longer doubtful, he collected all his forces, and advanced towards the enemy. Prince Charles was very advantageously posted;

posted; the object was to draw him into the plain, and the king succeeded by a stratagem. He made feigned dispositions as if he intended to retreat towards Breslaw; he ordered the roads to be repaired, and an Italian settled at Schweidnitz, who served as a spy to the Austrians, was obliged to advise prince Charles that the Prussians were on the point of retreating that way. On this intelligence, the prince lost no time in descending from the mountains.

On the 3d of June, the two armies were in sight of each other. The left wing of the Prussians was supported by Schweidnitz, and the right by the village of Jauernick. The Austrian right wing was near Frideberg, and the Saxons, who formed the left, were posted towards Ronstock. The spot seemed calculated for a battle. But as soon as it became dark the king marched his army towards Strigau, and in the course of the night lined the heights in the vicinity of that town with grenadiers and cannon. The enemy, deceived by the camp fires which had been left burning, had no suspicion of this march. But, at the break of day, the artillery thundered from the top of these eminences on the Saxon cavalry which were opposite. In a short time they were thrown into disorder, and gave way; as did the infantry, and soon afterwards the whole left wing. The attack was not less successful on the Austrian wing, which was prevented by a morass from supporting the Saxons. After some resistance, it gave way to the impetuosity of the Prussian dragoons, and 2500 men and 67 standards were taken. Prince Henry, the king's brother, then a

youth of eighteen years of age, performed, in this action, the duty of aide-de-camp general.

Four thousand Austrians and Saxons lay dead on the field of battle. Nine thousand were made prisoners, among whom were reckoned four generals and two hundred officers. The Prussians, who lost about 2000 men, took 76 pair of colours, 8 standards, 6 pair of kettle drums, and 63 pieces of cannon. (46)

Nothing is more astonishing than the unfortunate facility with which, in our days, such losses are repaired. Prince Charles retired into Bohemia with the remains of his army, and, on the 20th of June, was encamped near Kœniggratz, and in such a condition as to hope to command respect from the victor who pursued him.

After the battle of Frideberg, the king marched into Bohemia, and approached the banks of the Metaw; but prince Charles was very advantageously encamped behind Kœniggratz on the bank of the Adler, so as to have that town in front, and his flanks and rear defended by morasses, woods, and mountains. The king encamped near Cralowelhota. The 26th of June, he thence dispatched lieutenant-general de Nassau, with a corps of 8 battalions and 15 squadrons, into Upper Silesia, to free that country from the continual incursions of the Austrian light troops, and, if possible, to retake Cosel.

This able general directed his march towards Reichenstein; which made the enemy, who were in Lower Silesia, apprehensive that their communications would be cut off, whereupon they all retreated to

Neu-

Neustadt. But as soon as Nassau had collected all the reinforcements designed for him, he advanced against Neustadt, briskly attacked the enemy, took upwards of 200 hussar horses, and forced them to abandon the town and retire to Jägerndorf. Nassau next took post near Neustadt, and prepared to retake Cosel. The enemy, who had assembled a considerable body of troops in this country, made several efforts against the Prussian posts of Ziegenhaltz and Falkenberg, but were repulsed by lieutenant-colonel Kalkreuth and major Queis. They made several attempts likewise, but with no better success, on the left wing of the Prussians. Every where they were repulsed with loss. But Nassau, far from paying attention to these skirmishes, made some movements towards Freudenthal, Wur-benthal, and Engelsberg, to induce the enemy to believe that he had thoughts of attempting to enter Moravia on that side, and to divert their attention from his design of besieging Cosel. When every thing was ready for the siege, he began his march, advancing straight towards Leobschütz; but, on a sudden, turned to the right, and appeared before Cosel the 26th of August, at the moment that major-general Hautcharmoi shewed himself on the other side with a body of troops and boats laden with provisions. He encamped advantageously, and fortified himself in such a manner that all access to the fortress was cut off, and an army of 20,000 men could not risk an attempt to raise the siege, without exposing itself to evident danger. In the night of the 31st of August, the fortress was taken,

and Baron de Flandrini, who commanded, made prisoner with his garrison.

After the capture of Cosel, general Nassau took post between Jägerndorf and Neustadt, in the environs of Hohenplotz and Roswalde; and so fortified himself as at once to cover Lower Silesia, and be able to watch the motions of the enemy. In October, the king sent him a reinforcement commanded by major-general Winterfeldt, which enabled him to move forward, to expel the enemy from all Silesia. He placed garrisons in Jägerndorf and Troppau, as well as in the fortress of Grätz. The 20th of October, he attacked a body of the enemy near Hultschin, killed 100 men, and obliged them to retire towards Teschen and Moravia. He next levied contributions and provisions in Moravia, and advanced into that province as far as Borowa. But the enemy received considerable reinforcements from their main army, and, in the middle of November, their light troops appeared in great numbers in the environs of Schweidnitz, and the inhabited parts of the mountains of Silesia, exacting everywhere large contributions. These circumstances obliged general Nassau to retire from Troppau towards Lower Silesia, which he did the 19th of November, abandoning the project of advancing further into Moravia. After a few skirmishes, which ended in favour of the Prussians, he succeeded in driving from Lower Silesia all the enemies parties he found there. In the middle of December, the king ordered him to return to Upper Silesia, to get firm footing there, and

and to expel the enemy, who was making fresh inroads since his departure. He proceeded as far as Neisse, again put garrisons into Oppeln and Patschaw, and, the 26th of December, was preparing to attack the enemy, when he heard of the truce which terminated in peace. He received orders to suspend hostilities against the Austrian troops and countries. The only check the Prussians had met with in this enterprise, was in a detachment commanded by colonel Krumenau and major Hirsch, which, in levying contributions in Moravia, for want of proper precautions, was attacked the 7th of November near Bentsch, and beaten by a more numerous body of the enemy.

During the summer, the two grand armies remained pretty near each other in Bohemia; but there were only a few skirmishes between detached parties; and it is highly probable that the steps which the king of England was then taking to effectuate a peace between the belligerent powers, were in some measure the cause that prevented any decisive action. The 19th of July, the king passed the Elbe near Lochanitz, and encamped near Chlom, about two leagues from the enemy's main army. But there was no battle. The leaders of their army, who had a prodigious number of light troops, employed themselves wholly in intercepting the king's forage and provisions, in order to compel him to quit Bohemia without coming to an engagement. When prince Charles received his reinforcements, he passed the Adler, and encamped near Augest in a very advantageous position; for his left wing was supported by the Elbe. The king placed his,

his, not less advantageously, near Jaromirs. Both the armies had sent bodies of troops into Saxony. The greatest part of the Saxon auxiliaries were returned home, and the king had sent two detachments into the duchy of Magdebourg, to reinforce the army of the prince of Anhalt in that province. General Nassau had marched also into Silesia with a considerable corps; so that the king's army was much weaker than that of the enemy. Add to this, the continual detachments he was obliged to make to the rear of his army, to facilitate the convoys of provisions, which could only be conducted by the point of the sword. There were several skirmishes of no moment during the summer, which I shall pass over, to give a description of the battle of Soor.

The king was destitute of provisions; every bundle of straw was to be fought for; the autumn, which was approaching, began to destroy the roads, and Frederick had not one tenable place in all Bohemia. All these considerations induced him, on the 18th of September, to break up his camp at Jaromirs, and take post near Staudentz. Prince Charles followed him, and in order to conceal his motions from the Prussians, and get information of theirs, he surrounded the king's army with his light troops. He resolved to attack the king, and force him to a battle, persuaded that a victory would procure him great advantages, and a defeat be attended with no fatal consequence, as the king would at all events be compelled to abandon Bohemia. He thought, that, to obtain a victory, it was only necessary to fall unexpectedly on the Prussians. He took all his measures with judgment, made a forced march

to attack the king in his camp of Staudentz on the side of Praumitz, and, on the morning of the 20th of September, appeared at half a league's distance from the Prussian camp. The attack was brisk and precipitate. The Prussians, surprized, greatly inferior in numbers, and posted amidst eminences intersected by hollow ways, small morasses, and thickets, never lost courage, and the enemy was beaten.

Military connoisseurs admire the plan of the Austrians for this battle. General Nadaſti, who had taken a circuit round the Prussian camp, was to fall upon the rear, whilst the main attack should be made in front. The passages to Silesia were lined with Hungarian troops, and the Prussians enclosed on all sides. Prince Charles had taken possession of some advantageous eminences opposite the Prussian camp, whence the troops there posted fell with such impetuosity on their left wing, as to prevent the cavalry from quitting the camp at the moment of the general attack. The king had charged an officer to cover the camp and baggage. This he neglected, and when reproached with it, replied, *Who can think of baggage, when a battle and honour are in question?* Nadaſti, intent on plunder, gave the Prussians time to form in order of battle. This imprudence cost the Austrians the victory. The Prussians, in their turn, made brisk attacks, forced the enemy to abandon their advantageous posts on the hills, and remained masters of the field of battle. The Austrians had 6000 men slain or made prisoners, lost 21 pieces of cannon and 12 pair of colours, and were compelled to retreat to Jaromirs. (47)

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Notwithstanding this advantage, Frederick did not think proper to remain longer in Bohemia, a country which armies had been ruining for several years past. He conducted his troops into Silesia by the hollow roads of Schazlar. The season did not allow of any enterprize on one side or the other. The mountains were already covered with snow, and the roads so bad that several baggage waggons were lost. The enemy likewise made an attack on the rear-guard, killed 40 Prussians, and wounded 250. At length, on the 16th of October, the Prussian army encamped between Liebau and Schazlar. The king, in cantoning his troops, stationed the cavalry in the plain of Schweidnitz and Strigau, and the infantry at the foot of the mountains of Silesia. He then left the command of the army with the hereditary prince of Dessau, and set out for Berlin, where he arrived the 1st of November.

The cantonments of the Prussians were so disposed, that the troops might all be assembled in a short time. The king, who was well informed of the projects of his enemies, employed himself in preparations to frustrate them.

Maria Theresa had not relinquished the project of re-conquering Silesia. This was her motive for declining the propositions of peace made this year, as we shall soon see. She flattered herself that the empress of Russia and the republic of Poland would enter into the alliance of Warfaw.

All Europe had admired the courage with which this princess, five years before, resolved to defend her

her states against France, Prussia, Bavaria, and other powers, though she had neither troops, money, nor allies. The world was not less astonished at the hardihood of the plan she now undertook to execute.

Maria-Theresa intended to attack the king of Prussia in his own states. The prince of Lorraine was to enter the marche of Brandenburg by Lusatia, whilst another army should invade Silesia, and 10,000 men commanded by general Grün, in conjunction with the Saxons, should take Magdebourg and advance to Berlin.

The succours the queen looked for from the Dutch gave great weight to her expectations. Her own army amounted to 200,000 men, that of her allies was not less considerable; and the opposite party was supported by 400,000 French, Prussian, Bavarian, Spanish, Neapolitan, and other troops. Here then were 800,000 men ready to massacre and exterminate each other, in the midst of what is called the polished part of the globe, and in an age on which we do not blush to bestow the epithet of philosophic.

This spectacle presented by the christians, touched the turk Mahomet V. (48) He attempted to restore peace amongst them. He made representations to the respective courts, and offered his mediation. These extraordinary measures surprized Europe without producing any effect, and war continued to rage even amidst the severities of winter.

Frederick soon perceived the means of dissipating the projects of his enemies. He advanced towards the Austrians, who had entered Lusatia the 20th of
No-

November under the command of prince Charles, and were cantoned over a vast extent of country, waiting only for the corps under general Grün to commence their enterprizes.

The 23d of November he passed the river Queis, which separates Silesia from Lusatia, near Lauban. The enemy was made to believe that the Prussians would retire into Silesia, to cover Moravia. The king's unexpected movement was executed so suddenly, that the combined army had not time to prepare for a defence. Three regiments of Saxon cuirassiers, and a regiment of Saxe-Gotha infantry, commanded by general Buchner, were attacked and defeated near Hennerdorf by the king's van-guard, which took 1000 prisoners. The king, who followed with the main body of the army, advanced directly to the Austrians, who retreated behind Neisse, abandoned Göerlitz and its magazines to the defence of a feeble garrison, and took the rout of Bohemia by Zittau, but not without the loss of a great part of their baggage.

The king seized upon the magazines at Göerlitz, and made the garrison prisoners. He took also the magazines of Guben, and, after these expeditions, reposed his army, which was greatly fatigued, establishing his head-quarters at Göerlitz. His army was cantoned towards Lauban, Göerlitz, Zittau, and Bautzen. There he waited for news from that in Saxony, under the prince of Dessau. He also sent Winterfeldt again into Silesia with a reinforcement, to repel more effectually the inroads of the enemy's
light

light troops. But when the grand Austrian army returned from Bohemia into Saxony by the circle of Leutmeritz, it became necessary to reinforce the army of the prince of Anhalt. Lieutenant-general Leuwald was accordingly dispatched to his support with 10 battalions and 30 squadrons; and the king himself entered Saxony with his army by Kœnigshagen and Meissen.

During the years 1743 and 1744, the king of Poland, in quality of elector of Saxony, had been in strict alliance with the queen of Hungary, and sent her an army of 24,000 auxiliary troops into Bohemia. There were appearances also, at the diet of Grodno, of an attempt to engage the Polish nation to call forth the *Pospolite* or *arrière-ban*, and to take part in the troubles which subsisted amongst their neighbours. Prince Lubomirski stated the proposition. Wallenrodt, the Prussian minister at the diet, made counter representations, and diverted the republic from interfering in this war. At length the breaking up of the assembly finally destroyed the hopes of some of the *grandeës*, who were ready to support the Austrian party. Saxony united herself still more closely with the queen of Hungary by the quadruple alliance concluded at Warsaw, where Great Britain and the states-general promised subsidies to levy and maintain 30,000 men. It was in consequence of this union, that the Saxon auxiliaries formed a junction with the Hungarian army which entered Silesia. The death of the emperor Charles VII. which happened the 20th of January, having

having put an end to the union at Frankfort, the king of Prussia declared to the court of Dresden, that, if the Saxon troops entered Silesia, he should consider that measure as a real attack, and think himself called upon to make reprisals. This declaration not having stopped the march of the Saxons, the king, in August, 1745, issued a manifesto, wherein he published his reasons for treating Saxony as an enemy. (49) At the same time the prince of Anhalt Dessau received orders to assemble the regiments which were in the province, and a reinforcement being sent him from Silesia, he formed an encampment near Dieskau, on the Saxon frontiers. The court of Saxony first collected her troops near Mersebourg; then, after recalling her auxiliary troops from the Austrian forces in Bohemia, encamped her whole army near Leipzig. The king of England, however, was still labouring to restore peace; and the empress of Russia was expected to declare herself agreeable to the promise she had given of succours, in case the king of Prussia should attack Saxony. These two circumstances retarded hostilities. In October, both armies separated. But this apparent repose was interrupted in November, by the entrance of the Austrian army into Lusatia, to make an attempt on that province. The object of the enemy was to prevent the king from completing his army during the winter, as he had done in 1744, and to attack him in his hereditary states. The king, aware of their intentions, quickly collected his troops dispersed in Silesia and the duchy of Magdebourg, advanced

vanced into Lusatia against the Austrians, and ordered the prince of Anhalt to enter the territories of the electorate of Saxony.

This prince entered Saxony the 29th of November. The Saxon regiments, intrenched in their camp of Leipzig, under the orders of count Renard, did not venture to defend themselves; Leipzig was taken. The prince, next, without any opposition, took Torgau, and the post of Meissen, which was of great importance on account of the Elbe. After this, he facilitated the junction with general Leuwald, whom the king had sent to him with a reinforcement, and at the same time posted himself advantageously near Newstadt. The Saxon army, reinforced by the corps under Grün, was strongly encamped near Kesseldorf, and waiting for the enemy in that position, which covered the city of Dresden.

Frederick, however, had often desired peace. When we read the letters he wrote on the subject, even so late as the 11th of December, to Mr. Villiers, the English ambassador at the court of Saxony, we cannot but be enchanted with his conduct; it is impossible not to wish him the victory, and to see his enemies somewhat humbled. In the end, Augustus listened to his propositions; but, unfortunately, two days too late to prevent the carnage which took place on the 15th of that month. From the 1st of December Augustus had been at Prague. The letter by which Mr. Villiers advises the king of the dispositions of Augustus, is of the 13th; the king received it on the 15th, the very day of the battle of

Kesseldorf: one night sooner, and this letter would have saved 10,000 men! (50)

The prince of Anhalt, then, attacked the Saxons the 15th of December, and, after a bloody battle, gained a complete victory. The enemy, who had the advantage of position, twice repulsed the assailants, who endeavoured to get possession of the village of Kesseldorf. But, amidst the cries of victory, the Austrian and Saxon grenadiers abandoned the posts of Kesseldorf, with which they were entrusted, and pursued the Prussians. The prince immediately dispatched the dragoons of Bonin and the cuirassiers of Stille to fall upon them, who totally overthrew and entered pell-mell with them into the village. This advantage decided the day.

The victory was complete for the Prussians. The Austrians, who could have no share in the engagement, on account of an intervening morass, followed the shattered remains of the army. The king had 4000 men killed and wounded: 3000 Saxons lay dead on the field of battle, as many were wounded, and 5000 made prisoners, amongst which last were four generals. (51)

It was remarked that the king of Prussia and prince Charles were simple spectators of this conflict, at the head of their respective armies. The latter, who some time before had come from Bohemia into Saxony, was, on the day of the battle, before the gates of Dresden, at a little distance from the Saxon army. The king had advanced to Misnia to meet him; and they were both waiting the issue of the contest.

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The next day the remains of the vanquished army rejoined the Austrians near Dresden. Frederick united his with the conquerors, and marched towards that city. Prince Charles had now no other measure to take but to risk a battle, to throw himself into Dresden, or to abandon Saxony. He preferred the last; and, on the 17th of December, he returned by Pirna into Bohemia with his own army and that of the Saxons.

The garrison and inhabitants of Dresden avoided a siege by voluntarily opening their gates, and offering a sum of money to the victor. Frederick went to the palace, to see the children of the king of Poland, whom he tenderly embraced; he prohibited every species of disorder; and the same day offered peace to Augustus from the centre of his capital. (52) The city scarcely perceived that it had changed masters. The Saxons, accustomed to pleasure, partook of the festivals on occasion of the victory. They were seen to assist at *Te Deum*, at balls, and the opera, as if delighted with the event. The appearances of peace justified this conduct. Had not fortune declared for Frederick, there is reason to believe that the war would have been of much longer duration.

The king's moderation amidst the most brilliant successes, left Augustus and Maria-Theresa no plausible pretext for refusing the proffered peace. A few days afterwards it took place by the interposition of the king of England. Frederick signed it at Dresden the 25th of December. He was satisfied with a million of crowns and a fresh cession of Silesia; on his part, he acknowledged for emperor Francis-Ste-

phen, the queen's husband. To give a just idea of the negotiations for this peace, it is necessary to recur to the convention of Hanover, concluded the 26th of August, 1745, between England and Prussia. The king of England, irritated against the French, who promised to succour the pretender, was desirous of making peace in Germany, the more easily to avenge himself on the crown of France. This convention was to serve as a basis to appease the disturbances then subsisting between the courts of Prussia, Hungary, and Poland. His Britannic majesty was so determined to pursue this design, that when the queen of Hungary refused to accede to the convention, he ceased to pay the stipulated subsidies. Frederick, who thought not of making fresh conquests, and wished for peace on the footing of the convention of Hanover and keeping Silesia, invariably persisted in these principles, when the queen of Hungary, desiring once more to try the fate of arms, forced him to the battle of Soor, and prepared herself for fresh attacks. The count de Podewils, the Prussian minister, had express orders to write to Mr. Villiers, entreating him to use every means in his power to incline the court of Dresden to peace; and the king took this measure at a time when he had driven the enemy from Lusatia, and the army of the prince of Anhalt was already in Saxony. Nay, after he had made himself master of Dresden, he continued to propose peace; nor did he enhance his demands beyond what he had required previous to his late successes. (53)

Such was the termination of that war, which taught the Saxons how dangerous it is to intermeddle in the quarrels

quarrels of their neighbours. The year 1745 offers us some political events, of which we shall now resume the thread.

The death of Charles VII. there was reason to suppose, would have put an end to the war, or at least have produced a change in the intentions of the king. His connections with the emperor being at an end, he could no longer continue it, but as an auxiliary power. But the queen of Hungary had formed the project of re-conquering Silesia, and rejected every proposition tending to conclude a peace on the footing of the treaty of Breslaw, and consequently to leave the king in possession of the part of Silesia ceded to him by that treaty. The quadruple alliance entered into at Warsaw seemed to facilitate the execution of this project. Another object, not less important, also occupied the court of Vienna, which was to procure the return of the Imperial crown to the house of Austria. This seemed to be practicable without the consent of the elector of Brandenburg and the elector palatine; since, by making peace with the new elector of Bavaria, a plurality of voices was secured. The king sent ambassadors to assist at the election. But finding that he was supported by the elector palatine alone, he contented himself with delivering a memorial to the electoral college, in which he declared, that, previous to proceeding to the election, it was necessary to deliberate on the following points:

First, Whether the electors, in whom the right was vested, had been convoked, and had appeared?

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Secondly,

Secondly, Whether there was perfect liberty and safety in the place where the election was held ?

Thirdly, Whether the majority of votes had not been obtained by forced promises, treaties, or other matters contrary to the oath of the electors ?

To these articles the king added a protestation against opening the conferences for the election ; but no attention was paid either to the articles or the protestation. The ambassadors of Brandenburg and the elector palatine demanded a delay of some weeks in the election, which was refused likewise ; so that seeing no means of preventing the election, which was made by the majority of voices, they quitted Frankfort. The grand duke of Tuscany was elected ; but the two opposing electors did not acknowledge him till the peace of Dresden.

France had a numerous army in Germany commanded by the prince of Conti, and had declared that her only object was to maintain and defend the rights and liberties of the empire, and to prevent the misfortunes that might arise from an undue election. But the queen of Hungary so strengthened her army, that she obliged the prince of Conti to retire over the Rhine, and leave the field open to the Austrian army. This retreat is famous. The prince of Conti only wanted proper reinforcements ; but the attention of France was at that time fixed on conquests in the Low Countries, whereas Maria-Theresa neglected the Low Countries and Italy, and directed her views solely to the election of emperor and the conquest of Silesia.

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Frederick, who thought that France might have seconded him in his Bohemian expedition, was dissatisfied with that power. After the death of the emperor, he seemed not very remote from peace. But the courts of France and Bavaria engaged him to continue the war. Maria-Theresa, by refusing to make a treaty on the footing of that of Breslaw, promoted the designs of those courts. Thus did the king remain united with France; and even when Bavaria had concluded a peace with Austria, and the retreat of the prince of Conti had thrown the weight of the war on Frederick, this prince did not adhere less faithfully to his engagements; nor was it possible to turn him against that power.

In the course of the year 1745, Frederick had important negotiations with the court of Russia, which tended to prevent the auxiliary troops assembled in Livonia from making an irruption into Prussia, in case the king should attack Saxony. He was so fortunate as to persuade the Russian ministry that Saxony and Austria were the aggressors, and that consequently Russia was by no means bound to furnish them with succours. But peace took place before the Russian troops were in a condition to undertake any enterprise.

Until the middle of the same year, Frederick laboured to divert the electoral court of Saxony from marching troops against Silesia, and united his endeavours with those of the court of France to prevail upon the king of Poland to accept the Imperial dignity. But Augustus persisting in his union with Austria, Fre-

derick commenced the war of Saxony, of which we have seen the issue.

The differences between Prussia and the electoral house of Hanover, on the subject of the principality of Ost-Friesland, still subsisted. The king set forth in a publication the rights on which his claims were founded. He demanded the investiture of that principality, and the elector of Bavaria conferred it on him in quality of vicar of the empire. The electoral court of Brunswick protested. On the other hand, the king of England, who laboured without intermission to close the breach between Prussia and Austria, at length, in the month of August, effected the convention of Hanover, which eventually served as the foundation of peace; and it was by his means, as we have seen, that the treaty of Dresden was concluded.

The states-general of Holland, by acceding to the quadruple alliance, alienated the king of Prussia. They not only promised succours to his enemies, in case the king should attack Saxony, but they refused their mediation for a peace. Nevertheless, they furnished no succours; because the French gave them employment enough at home, and could have punished their maltreatment of the king of Prussia.

In other respects, a good understanding subsisted between the states of the empire and the rest of the powers of Europe. Strong remonstrances indeed were made to the elector of Mayence, for having invited to the last election, Bohemia, which had been excluded from a suffrage. Some differences also arose at Frankfort with the evangelic directory. The elector of Bran-

Brandenbourg required the Saxon ambassador to hold a conference between the princes of the evangelic (or protestant) persuasion, for the purpose of concerting what might be proper to insert in the capitulation of the new emperor respecting the evangelic states. The Saxon ambassador refused his consent, which obliged the ambassador from Brandenbourg to hold at his own house the conference he thought necessary.

FOURTH

FOURTH PERIOD.

FROM THE PEACE OF DRESDEN TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR OF SEVEN YEARS.

1745—1756.

THIS period was marked with no war ; Frederick shewed, in the midst of peace, that there are geniuses formed by nature for all sorts of glory, and who have only to will, to perform great things in every line. He availed himself of every moment of the leisure afforded him by peace, to make still further preparations for war. No man felt more forcibly than himself, that all the branches of administration are connected, depend on each other, and concur together to give a solid foundation to a state. Convinced that one moment of negligence or discouragement in a single department, might occasion his loss of the fruit of all his pains and victories, he laboured without intermission to erect an insurmountable barrier against his enemies. He knew in what consisted the real force of states, and bestowed the most indefatigable attention on agriculture, population, finances, imposts, legislation, and commerce. All these cares, however, did not make him lose sight of negotiations. We shall confine ourselves in this place to the detail of this branch of his administration, as it is more essentially connected with the

the war of seven years, of which we shall next treat, and as it furnishes the proper thread to conduct us through that period ; and afterwards we shall collect every thing relative to the other branches of the administration, or to the private and literary life, of this great monarch.

The peace of Dresden furnished matter for many negotiations. The king demanded of the empire the guaranty of that peace, but he met with difficulties he did not expect. The queen declared that this guaranty could not take place, unless the empire would at the same time renew that of the pragmatic sanction. The king replied, that the guaranty of the latter treaty had no sort of connection with that of the peace of Dresden. These reasons were not listened to ; nor was it until the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1751, that this guaranty was obtained.

The king made the same application to the court of London, and with more success. The guaranty was granted without difficulty, by a private act of the king of England.

He could not prevail on the court of Russia or the states-general to follow this example ; in the end, the motives which occasioned the refusal of the former were discovered. On the 22d of May, 1746, Russia concluded a treaty with the empress queen, a secret article of which was in opposition to the views of Prussia. (54)

Sweden not only granted her guaranty the following year, but concluded a treaty of alliance and reciprocal guaranty with Prussia.

The false rumours which had been circulated to alienate Poland from the king of Prussia, were dissipated



pated by contrary assurances; and the republic was persuaded, or feigned to be persuaded, that there was no unfair design upon her dominions.

The court of Saxony fulfilled the conditions of the treaty of Dresden. The king's commissioners repaired to the fair of Leipzig at Easter, 1746, and received the stipulated million of crowns. A commission was likewise established to settle the exchange of the village of Schildo, of which mention is made in the same treaty. But nothing was agreed upon, because the equivalent proposed by the king appeared to the court of Saxony to be inadequate.

The troops, however, evacuated Saxony. On the 26th of January, 1746, there only remained two battalions of grenadiers appointed to cover the hospital at Meissen; and in the spring these too left the province.

Frederick had promised to acknowledge the election of Francis; he fulfilled this article also; and sent an authentic act, to that effect, to the diet of Ratisbon. The emperor, on his part, granted the king of Prussia a privilege of *non appellando*, for all his states situated in the empire.

Some propositions from the diet of Ratisbon, likewise, employed the cabinet of Berlin during the year 1746. The emperor wished to send an army of the empire to the frontiers of France; Frederick advised neutrality, to prevent the French from entering Germany.

It was in agitation, moreover, to draw up a perpetual capitulation for the emperor. But the Teutonic order wishing to insert in it their claims on Prussia,

Frede-

Frederick declared that he would never suffer it to be concluded on such conditions.

In the same year, Frederick made remonstrances to the Imperial court on the subject of the grievances complained of by the protestants of Hungary. But that court disdained to pay attention to them, and blamed the protestants for having recourse to foreign protection, in contempt of their own sovereign.

In spite of all the pains the king of Prussia took to establish the peace on sure foundations, his enemies did not cease to impute to him bad intentions. In November, a work (55) appeared at Nuremberg, in which the rights and claims of the house of Brandenburg were strongly combated. It was alledged that the court of Vienna had a share in this publication. It was sold publicly at Vienna, Ratisbon, and elsewhere. The Prussian envoy made representations to the Imperial court, to which little attention was paid; he renewed them, and at length the copies to be found at the bookfellers were confiscated for form's sake. It was too late, all Germany had read the work, and a second edition had been printed at Frankfort. Complaints were made at Ratisbon, with a requisition to have it burnt by the common hangman; but the diet waited till the court of Vienna should set them the example. The example was never given, nor was the book burnt either at Ratisbon or Vienna.

Frederick cherished enemies likewise in his own bosom. Many were discovered in his dominions, and convicted of forging false intelligence, of holding criminal

correspondencies, and of labouring to sow mistrust and enmities. Some of them were sent to Spandau, amongst whom was the resident from a German court. The most criminal was beheaded. He was one of the king's privy counsellors, named Ferber, who owed his fortune to Frederick-William.

The king took two journies this year, the one to Pyrmont, in the month of May, the other to Silesia in July.

In the year 1747, he continued his solicitations to the diet of Ratisbon, to obtain the guaranty of the peace of Dresden, but with as little effect as the preceding year.

In May, the alliance we have mentioned was concluded with Sweden. There were thoughts of inviting Russia to accede to it, but, on account of the empress's engagements with Austria, that idea was dropped. Nay, in consequence of this alliance, altercations arose between the courts of Petersburg and Berlin, and the envoys were mutually recalled. The court of Russia imagined, that there was no other view in this alliance, to which France had acceded, but to procure an unlimited authority to the successor of the king of Sweden, on the death of the latter; and that the king of Prussia would not fail to employ all his power to carry this project into execution in favour of the prince of Sweden, his relation. Upon these ideas, or rather upon these pretexts, Russia made great preparations for war; but this conduct was the result of the alliance she had entered into with the court of Vienna, and the

the common object was to impede the progress of the house of Prussia.

The year following (1748), the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle put an end to the war, which had lasted several years, between the empress queen, the kings of England and Sardinia, and Holland, on one side, and the kings of Spain and France on the other. The king of Prussia, who from the peace of Dresden had used every possible effort to reunite these powers, received from the contracting parties the guaranty of Silesia and the county of Glatz. (56) This event greatly contributed to remove the difficulties raised by the house of Austria to prevent the guaranty of the states of the empire.

The court of Russia continued to prepare for war, and two opposite parties appeared; France, Sweden, and Prussia, on one side, and the empress queen, Russia, and Great-Britain, on the other. The Russian troops, which were to oppose the French, were already in the circle of Franconia; but, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, they received orders to retire, and took up their winter quarters in Bohemia and Moravia. The generals were charged to preserve the strictest discipline in passing towards the Prussian frontiers; and thus hostilities were avoided this year.

Russia, however, still made warlike preparations, and continued them in 1749. Her troops in Livonia were augmented; cannon were transported into that province; every thing, in short, announced an approaching attack. Similar preparations were going forward on the frontiers of Sweden, and war appeared inevi-

inevitable. France and Prussia declared the suspicions of Russia to be ill-founded, and that their alliance had no such object as a revolution in the government of Sweden. The king of Prussia wrote even to the king of England, (57) to prevail on him to stifle the flames of war which already were kindling under the ashes. At the same time he prepared himself to repulse every attack, however unforeseen, that might be made upon his frontiers, and communicated his intentions to all the foreign courts. By these means was tranquillity preserved this year,—a semblance of peace kept up: the king's enemies, however, were only waiting for a favourable moment to attack him on all sides, and that moment was not yet arrived.

Amidst all these movements, the court of Vienna was not inactive. After the example of her neighbours, she reformed her troops, exercised them without relaxation, created new regiments, and introduced the principles of the Prussian tactics. Frederick was apprized of the insinuations of the Imperial ministers at the court of Petersburg. (58) A letter from the Austrian envoy there, addressed to the envoy of the same court at Berlin, fell into his hands (59). As soon as the court of Vienna knew of the king's having received full information of every particular, she disapproved the conduct of her envoy: but Frederick was not to be so duped; he felt what he had to expect, and kept himself on the defensive.

In 1750 commenced the long negotiations for the election of a king of the Romans. Then, too, did the differences between the king of Prussia and the court of

Russia

Russia encrease to such a degree, that the ambassadors of both powers withdrew without taking leave. In November, count de Puebla, the Imperial envoy at Berlin, announced to that court, that the emperor and empress hoped, from the friendship of the king of Prussia, that, if the election of a king of the Romans should be proceeded on, he would expedite the business by his electoral suffrage. Some time before, the English envoy at Berlin had made similar overtures on the same subject. The king of England, in quality of elector of Brunswick and Lunenburg, the two ecclesiastical electors of Mayence and Treves, and the elector of Bavaria, were already agreed on this election; so that nothing was wanting but the consent of the elector palatine, and of those of Saxony, Cologne, and Brandenburg. Frederick declared, that, as the emperor enjoyed perfect health, and was in the flower of his age, and as, besides, peace reigned in Europe and the German empire, the motives indicated by the Imperial capitulation to necessitate an election of this nature, did not at present exist: consequently, his advice was, not to be precipitate, but to wait the majority of the archduke Joseph. Frederick signified his intentions to the other electors by letter. The king of England and the electors of Mayence and Bavaria replied, that the time when Europe was in peace was the most proper for an election; that the emperor's health gave no reason to apprehend his death before the majority of the king of the Romans; and that, at all events, it was better for the empire to

have a minor for emperor, than to have none at all. The matter was long contested; reasons were adduced pro and con; and the opposition of the king of Prussia added to the discontent of the court of Vienna, which encreased every day.

On the 2d of December, the Russian envoy at the court of Prussia withdrew from Berlin, and the king instantly recalled his from Petersburgh. The reasons assigned by the court of Russia for this step were, first, that her envoy was little respected, nay even despised at Berlin: secondly, that the gazette of Berlin had refused to insert that the court of Russia recalled all her subjects in the service of foreign powers: thirdly, that two Prussian officers, who were subjects of Russia, had been imprisoned, and refused their liberty by the court of Berlin, unless the court of Petersburgh would likewise enlarge captain Stackelberg, a Prussian officer, who was kept under arrest. The court of Prussia alleged, in answer, that, if an envoy knew not the means of making himself respected, that was in no wise a subject to interrupt the harmony between the two courts; that the Russians in the service of Prussia had not been sent under the condition of being recalled whenever that court thought proper; that captain Stackelberg was arrested under the pretext of recruiting, whereas the two lieutenants, Kursel and Reutern, were put in arrest for attempting to quit Prussia without obtaining permission. It is easy to perceive that Russia was seeking pretexts for a rupture: count de Bestuchew, grand chancellor of the empire, excited

excited all these petty subjects of quarrel, which were perpetually fomented by the personal hatred the empress had conceived against Frederick. (60)

In the month of July of the same year (1750), the king received a singular embassy. The kan of Crimea, having heard of the great qualities of Frederick, sent him an ambassador named Mustapha, (61) to assure him of his readiness to do him every service in his power. Much conjecture arose on the subject of this embassy, and it was pretended that the king had concluded a very useful alliance with the kan, in case of a rupture with Russia.

At length, in 1751, the diet of the empire granted the king of Prussia the guaranty of the peace of Dresden, which he had been demanding from the year 1746.

The negotiations on the subject of the king of the Romans still continued: the king declared that this election could not take place without a contestation, unless the pretensions of the elector palatine were to be decided on by the mediation of France and Prussia, and the empress and her allies were to guaranty the peace of the North. The king, on his side, offered to guaranty, with his allies, the constitution of Sweden. After this, the king demanded a deliberation on the subject of the guardianship of the king of the Romans, in case he should mount the throne before his majority. The court of Vienna rejected these propositions, and affairs were no further advanced.

A fresh difference arose this year between the

courts of Petersburg and Berlin, respecting the trade of Dantzick. Some Russian merchants were detained at Koningsberg with their merchandize. The court of Prussia by prohibition guarded against the like event in future. But this did not prevent the college of commerce at Petersburg from ordering the Russian merchandize to be sent thenceforward by sea, or by Poland, without touching at the Prussian frontiers.

The principal negotiations of Prussia in 1752 still turned on the election of a king of the Romans. The Imperial court and that of Hanover zealously endeavoured to unite all the suffrages in favour of the archduke Joseph, and flattered themselves that every difficulty was removed. The election, however, did not take place; on the contrary, the obstacles to it increased. The ancient princely houses, supported by the king and the elector palatine, demanded to participate in the election, and the margrave of Brandenburg Anspach addressed a circular letter to all these houses, to propose to them to declare to the directory of Mayence, that the college of princes would not consent to the election of a king of the Romans, before it should be decided, in the three colleges of the empire, *Whether this election was necessary?* This letter made much noise, and occasioned great commotion. Most of the princely houses thought they should avail themselves of the opportunity which now offered of asserting their rights. All their efforts, however, did but augment the difficulties of the election, without procuring them any advantage.

Frederick laboured also, in the course of this year,

to

to facilitate the commerce between his subjects and those of Austria ; for which purpose he sent Dewitz, vice-president of Pomerania, to Vienna. But these negotiations were unsuccessful; and the Imperial court, far from listening to his propositions, augmented, the following year, the very duties and imposts of which the king complained.

For some years past, differences had subsisted between the courts of London and Berlin, relative to some Prussian vessels taken by the English during the last war. In November, 1752, the king of Prussia caused to be presented to the court of London a memorial, in which he declared, that, having received no satisfaction on that head, he was resolved to retain the sums he had promised to pay on account of Silesia. In the beginning of 1753 the negotiations continued. The king of England had appointed commissioners to examine the king of Prussia's claims. They came to a decision, and their decision was communicated to the king. Frederick was not satisfied. He named counsellors to examine the affair, and replied. This correspondence terminated in nothing. The affair was not concluded till 1756, when trifling interests disappeared before those of more importance.

Some ill-disposed persons had circulated a report, that, in the spring of 1753, lieutenant-general Bredow was to make an irruption into Hanover, on the side of Halberstadt, with a considerable body of Prussians. The differences then subsisting between the two courts served as a pretext to give some colour of probability to this report. But the king positively denied any

such intention, and declared that he was very far from wishing to disturb the repose of Germany in any manner whatsoever.

In 1754, the king purchased of the princess dowager of Orange the feignories of that house situated in Holland, for which he paid 705,000 Dutch florins.

In 1755, the affairs of Europe were greatly embroiled, the discontent of the different courts towards each other began to break out, and it was not difficult to foresee an approaching rupture. France and England were disputing about a few leagues of territory in Canada, a country in which two hundred leagues of ground are not worth two of those in Europe. Hostilities commenced without any positive declaration of war. France, who maintained that the English were the aggressors, augmented her land forces, and manifested her intention of attacking the king of England's states in Germany. The king of England, supported by his parliament, endeavoured to secure his electorate against the attacks with which it was menaced, and allied himself with Russia and Hesse. The French and Russians were on the point of appearing at the same time in Germany. The king of Prussia, who was not ignorant of the confederacy of the courts of Peterburgh, Dresden, and Vienna, which had conspired his ruin, now felt the danger redoubled, and endeavoured to avert it. To this end, he declared, that he should treat as enemies all the French troops which should appear in Germany. This menace changed the scene. The Russian troops assembled in Livonia, where, from their vicinity to Prussia, they incurred the suspicion

cion of a double project, could no longer be of service to the king of England. This prince addressed himself for succours to the court of Vienna, but which refused to take a part in this war against France, under the pretext of being necessitated to defend itself against Prussia, who was arming. England, having no advantage to expect from her union with the courts of Vienna and Petersburgh, and foreseeing that the Dutch would stand neuter, found herself entirely without support. In these circumstances, Frederick made an offer of his assistance in Germany. So powerful an ally was not to be refused; and the treaty was concluded at the commencement of the following year.

FIFTH PERIOD.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR OF SEVEN
YEARS TO THE PEACE OF HUBERTSBOURG.

1756—1763.

THE year 1756 is celebrated, in the annals of Prussia, by the commencement of a war in which a host of enemies, leagued together against her, occasioned her power to totter even to its foundations; yet, notwithstanding the violence of the shock, she arose, at the expiration of seven years, all marked, incessantly, by toils and battles, intirely covered with the brilliancy of national character and renown.

Before we enter on this famous war, let us give some idea of the negociations connected with it.

At the beginning of this year, the Duke de Nivernois was sent to Berlin in quality of ambassador extraordinary from the court of France. The object of his mission was to prevent Frederick from allying himself with England, and he attempted to negotiate an alliance between that prince and France. His propofals were not only rejected, but the negociations continued with England, until a treaty was finally concluded at London.(62) The two powers appeared to have no other intention than to preserve peace in
Ger-

Germany, and to oppose the introduction of foreign troops into the empire. (63)

Thus did France perceive the extinction of the hopes which she had entertained of being able either to draw Prussia to her side, or to induce her to observe a neutrality. She saw herself thwarted in the project of making Germany the theatre of war, and of attacking England in the electorate of Hanover. Thus situated, she concluded a treaty of neutrality and reciprocal defence with the empress queen, which was signed at Versailles the 1st of May, 1756. On this occasion, the empress queen promised to take no part in the war between France and England; but the treaty stipulated that the two contracting powers should mutually guaranty their possessions in Europe, and furnish 24,000 auxiliary troops in case of an attack on either. By this means did France procure herself a powerful ally in Germany, in the person of the empress queen, who, finding that she had no succour to expect from England in her projects against Prussia, readily connected herself with France, thus securing a considerable aid, and hoping, by the influence of that power, to engage the Swedes in an alliance with her against Frederick.

The king, to whom not one of these measures was a secret, set on foot negociations to counteract the concealed designs of his enemies; and endeavoured, in concert with the other powers, to put himself in a situation to repel force by force.

He knew that the courts of Vienna, Petersburgh, and Saxony, had formed a plan for his destruction; by

by accident, and by the treachery of a Saxon secretary, he had discovered that these three courts, immediately after the peace of Dresden (1746), had concluded a treaty of alliance and eventual partition of his states, in case of war. From 1753 to 1756, he received, every post day, copies of all the dispatches of the court of Saxony, and he could no longer doubt that the three powers were labouring to bring about a war.

Having learnt, in the month of June, that the Russian armaments in Livonia were assuming a very serious aspect, he sent seven battalions with a regiment of dragoons and hussars into Lower Pomerania, to reinforce the Prussian forces in that province. Being informed soon after, that the court of Vienna, in consequence of his treaty with England, was making considerable preparations for war in Bohemia, on the frontiers of Silesia, and in all its hereditary states, he demanded amicably of that court, whether he was the actual object of these particular preparations ? (64) The empress queen replied, that, in the present circumstances, she had thought proper to make some war-like preparations for her own defence and that of her allies, which could not in their result prove prejudicial to any persons whatsoever. So vague an answer could not satisfy the king. He declared that he was aware of the project formed by the courts of Petersburg and Vienna to attack him, and demanded a clear and precise answer, by which the empress should declare that she would not attack him either in 1756 or in the following year. He added, that he

he should consider every equivocal answer as a declaration of war. The Imperial court replied, that the king of Prussia had begun to collect together his armaments, and make all his warlike preparations; that no such alliance existed between the two empresses against his Prussian majesty; and that consequently the disagreeable events the king seemed to apprehend, could not be imputed to the empress queen. Frederick took still another step to engage the court of Vienna to peace; and, after his troops had entered Saxony, he assured the court of Vienna that he would withdraw them, and restore every thing to its former situation, provided the empress would but give him the assurance he had demanded in his preceding declaration. This proposition was attended with as little success as the former. All negotiations were broken off, and the envoys of the two courts mutually withdrew. (65)

Soon after appeared a circular rescript of the Imperial court, in which mention was made of the armaments of the king of Prussia in the midst of peace; and assurances given that the alliance concluded with France contained no secret article relative to either alterations in religion, or the oppression of the protestant faith in Germany; nor even tending to encroach upon the liberty of the empire respecting the election of a king of the Romans. Frederick published a declaration of the same nature, (66) wherein he proved that the Imperial court had been the first to arm, and he reproached that court with having
refused

refused an amicable explanation respecting the object of these preparations.

All these negotiations on the part of the king did not make him relax a moment from his activity in preparing himself for war. By pressing the court of Vienna to an explanation, he hoped either to break the alliance formed against him, or at least to acquire such a knowledge of the intended operations as might direct him how to counteract their probable effects. His apprehensions were amply justified by the conduct of the court of Vienna. The local situation of the Prussian states imposes an indispensable law on the sovereigns of that monarchy never to wait for the arrival of the enemy within its confines. Frederick felt the truth of this principle, and experience had taught him how to turn it to his advantage. The conflagration was inevitable, and Frederick thought he should gain considerably by lighting it himself in a country remote from his own states, and by compelling to a defence an enemy who was preparing to attack him. It was determined to commence hostilities.

Towards the end of August, the Prussian troops got into motion. A corps commanded by field-marshal Leuwald remained in Prussia to oppose the Russian army. A few regiments only were left in Ost-Friesland and Westphalia, the king foreseeing, that, amidst the multitude of enemies he had to contend with, it would be impossible for him to defend those distant provinces against the force of France. Having but little to apprehend from the Swedes, he
thought

thought it sufficient to reserve only a small number of troops for the defence of Pomerania.

Saxony was entered by 40,000 men, divided into three different bodies. The first, which formed the right wing, was commanded by duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, who advanced from the duchy of Magdebourg by Halle, Leipzig, Borna, Chemnitz, Freiberg, and Dippolswalde, to Dresden, the general rendezvous of the army. The second, which formed the centre, was commanded by the king himself: he proceeded to the left along the banks of the Elbe, passing by Wittenberg, Torgau, and Meissen, from whence he advanced to Dresden by Kesseldorf. The third division, forming the left wing, marched, under the orders of the duke of Bevern, from the environs of Frankfort on the Oder, by Elsterwerda, Bautzen, Stolpe, and Lohmen, and encamped to the right, opposite Pirna, and on the right banks of the Elbe. On the 6th of September the whole Prussian army was collected in the neighbourhood of Dresden.

Saxony had scarcely 15,000 men for her defence; neither was this feeble army as yet assembled. Dresden was without a garrison. On the news of the Prussian invasion, Augustus got together all his Saxon troops, and encamped near Pirna on the Elbe, between the fortresses of Königsstein and Sonnenstein. Saxony was subdued without a blow; Dresden opened her gates. Frederick's project was to force the king of Poland to join him in the conquest of Bohemia, or, in case of refusal, to have a pretext for keeping Saxony. Nor was
this

this the only view that directed the arrangements of this campaign. He wished to search the archives of Dresden, in hopes of discovering papers calculated to justify his conduct; and, in fact, Frederick was no sooner in that city than he demanded the keys of the cabinet and archives, which were refused. The queen of Poland, daughter of the emperor Joseph, placed herself before the doors to hinder them from being forced; and it became necessary to make use of violence to remove her.

The cabinet and archives were opened, and Frederick there found proofs of the jealousy to which his power had given rise in the minds of his neighbours. The court of Berlin quoted, in its manifestos, several letters in which the court of Saxony had declared itself ready to accede to the alliance of Petersburg against Prussia, *provided that the other parties would determine upon the amount of its share in the conquest of the Prussian states, the prisoners, and the booty.* (68) Yet it appears from these very letters, that, in June 1756, Saxony had not acceded to this alliance. That country, as it were, without defence, imagined the danger more remote than it really was. A government is never more blameable than when neglecting to prepare for any necessary defence. Saxony was exhausted. An elector invested with the royal dignity was perpetually draining that province to supply an excessive luxury and magnificence; and the disorder of the finances completed the ruin of this unhappy country. Saxony no longer had either money, troops, or fortresses. The military art was forgotten for pomp and pleasures. (69)

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This taking possession of Saxony was not termed an attack, irruption, invasion, or conquest, but simply a *deposit* for the security of the states of Brandenburg. The king left to his ministers the care of submitting to the surrounding nations a written justification of this procedure, and men were found, who spent themselves in vain reasoning to prove that it was no violence, and thought they had demonstrated that Saxony had formed tremendous projects for the attack of Prussia, whilst it was evident she had not even so much as provided for her own defence. Genuine philosophy condemns these idle reasonings, which policy adopts unfortunately. The king of Prussia built only on conjectures, and, to maintain them, several writers did not blush to assert that posts were found on some of the highways in Saxony with the inscription *Heerstrasse* (the road of the army): the Austrians were reproached likewise with having made a procession at Vienna in honour of Saint Hedewig, the patroness of Silesia, whence some able civilians of the Prussian cabinet deduced, with equal learning and ingenuity, that the object in gaining the patroness was to obtain her aid in recovering the province.

Considering the matter in point of good policy, nothing was more natural than the conduct of the king of Prussia. Saxony procured him an infinite number of important advantages in a war with Austria. It formed a barrier, a passage, a communication with Brandenburg and Silesia. In possessing that country, he saw himself master of the Elbe from Magdebourg to Bohemia, and was able to maintain his army at the
expence

expenditure of others. It would have been less advantageous to him for Saxony to have taken a neutral part, or even to have become his ally.

To secure these advantages, he conceived the project of disarming the Saxon army, and of preventing it from joining the Austrians. Encamped at Pirna, it enjoyed the advantage of a fortification which nature and art had rendered almost impregnable. The king resolved to block it up, and force it to submit: 38 battalions and 30 squadrons surrounded the camp, whilst the remainder of the army, consisting of 28 battalions and 60 squadrons, continued their rout towards Bohemia, under the command of general Keith.

The Imperial court had made such a disposition that two armies in Bohemia were prepared to oppose the enterprises of the Prussians. The most considerable, commanded by general Brown, was encamped near Colin, and the other assembled near Kœniggratz under prince Piccolomini. As soon as general Brown heard of the approach of the Prussian army, he detached general Wied with a corps to encamp near Nollendorf, and from advanced posts towards Peterstal, in order to establish a communication with the Saxon army blocked up at Pirna. The king, to cover his troops which were besieging the Saxon camp, detached prince Ferdinand of Brunswick with a small corps into Bohemia. The duke had orders so to encamp as to be able to resist a corps superior in numbers, and prevent it from penetrating into Saxony. He acquitted himself perfectly well of his commission, drove the enemy without much difficulty from Peterstal
walde

walde and Nollendorf, and encamped near Auffig, where he established his bakehouse. He next took the fortrefs of Teschen after a slight resistance, made the garrison prisoners, and fixed his camp near Johnsdorf. General Brown, who was ordered to deliver the Saxon army at Pirna, changed the place of his encampment from Colin to Budin. On this intelligence, the king came out of Saxony with a reinforcement, and repaired to the camp of Johnsdorf. Though this was an entrenched camp, the king did not think proper to wait there for the enemy, but took the resolution of advancing by Tirmitz and Welmina to get possession of the passages of the mountains, and put it out of Brown's power to undertake any thing in favour of the Saxons. Brown had advanced to the environs of Lowositz; and on the 1st of October, the king approaching from Welmina towards that place, there was a battle, in which both parties valiantly disputed a victory with courage, which terminated in favour of the Prussians. (70) The firing lasted from seven in the morning till three in the afternoon. The Prussian cavalry made a successful attack on that of the Austrians; but in endeavouring to clear an intrenchment, they were received by a violent fire, and forced to retire with loss. The left wing of the Prussians took possession of the hill of Lobosch and the town of Lowositz, in spite of the animated resistance of the enemy; but the right remained tranquil on mount Homolca, without taking any part in the battle. General Brown, with his left wing, covered the retreat of his army, which regained, during the night, the camp of Budin.

This want of success did not discourage Brown. Some days after, he made a fresh attempt to deliver the Saxons. His plan was well conceived. The 11th of October, he had led 10,000 men towards Schandau near the Saxon camp, on the banks of the Elbe. His march was conducted with so much secrecy and precaution, that the Prussians saw them make their appearance, before they had any information of their design. The post of Schandau was occupied by 4000 Brandenburgers. It was concerted with the Saxons that they should sally out of their camp the following night, under the cannon of the fortress of Kœnigsstein; and pass the Elbe to join the Austrians, whilst the latter should attack the Prussians near Schandau, and by that means prevent them from obstructing the passage. But the boats destined to transport them were not ready till the night after, and the Saxons themselves say that the fishermen refused their assistance. So true it is that there is a strict connection between the obedience of the subjects and the power of the sovereign entrusted with the care of their protection and defence. The sally from the camp was tardily performed from the badness of the roads, so that the Saxons did not reach the place appointed till the 13th. Mean while, the Prussians had an opportunity to reinforce themselves. Brown began to doubt of success, and the 14th retreated into Bohemia without attempting the junction. The Saxons, being no longer defended by their camp, lost all courage and surrendered themselves prisoners. They were converted into Prussian troops, and the regiments obliged to take an oath

oath to the king, who appointed officers to command them. The infantry were quartered in the Prussian towns, and the cavalry dispersed among the squadrons of the army. 200 pieces of heavy cannon, with the baggage and provisions, fell a prey to the conquerors.

Augustus demanded that his guards should not be made prisoners; but Frederick replied that he did not wish to have the trouble of taking them a second time. (71) Augustus, after losing his hereditary states, his army and his guards, was obliged to receive, as a favour from the hand of the conqueror, passports and post-horses to retire to Poland. His kingdom furnished him a retreat, and this was the only assistance he derived from it. The Poles did not raise a single man, nor even adopt one single measure to support their king. The army took up its winter quarters in Saxony, and lived upon that country.

Before and after the invasion of Saxony, the king of Prussia had always continued to negotiate with the king of Poland. (72) But it appears that his sole object was to prevent that prince from having time to take measures to oppose his operations against Austria. Frederick had unquestionably no desire to make a treaty, since he demanded nothing less than to keep Saxony during the war, and that the Saxon army should disperse. It is clear that he only acted thus, to facilitate his projects in Bohemia, and to clear away, upon his passage, all opposition whatsoever. Nothing could be more prudent than this conduct; he was too well informed of the political connections of Saxony to trust to the promises of Augustus, and it is more

than probable that he would have had reason to repent leaving behind him the Saxon army. In vain would the king of Poland have promised to disperse it; the troops could easily have been again assembled, and posted where he thought proper.

Frederick, having accomplished his views for this campaign, ordered his Bohemian army to retire into winter quarters in Saxony, and, on the 20th of October, the king went into Bohemia with a small body of troops, to facilitate this retreat. In the middle of November, the king's army went into winter quarters, so as to be covered by considerable posts, on the side of the Bohemian frontiers. Lieutenant general Winterfeldt, who had been sent from Saxony into the environs of Landshout and Hirschberg with seven battalions and ten squadrons, was stationed between the king's army and that commanded by marshal Schwerin in Silesia; and there was a chain of posts from the confines of Moravia as far as Voigtland, towards the Bohemian frontiers.

On the side of Silesia, general Schwerin had entered Bohemia by the county of Glatz, and encamped near Aujest, not far from Kœniggratz. Not long after his arrival, there was a bloody skirmish with the Austrian advanced guard under general Buccow. The latter had detached colonel Lusinski, with 700 hussars and picked dragoons, towards the forest of Oberbles, to surprize the advanced posts guarded by the Prussian hussars. The attack was brisk, but the regiments of Wartenberg and Wechmar forced them to retire with the loss of 127 prisoners. The Austrian army
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commanded by general Piccolomini was so advantageously entrenched in their camp near Koenigsgratz, at the confluence of the rivers Adler and the Elbe, that general Schwerin could not attack him. The 21st of October, the Prussian army began their retreat. Towards the frontiers of the county of Glatz, their rear-guard had a skirmish, which terminated to their honour; and at the end of November general Schwerin's army got likewise into winter quarters.

The year 1757 is remarkable. The emperor demanded succours from the states of the empire, who raised an army in his favour.

The Palatinate, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Mayence, and Wirtzburg, sent auxiliary troops to the empress queen, and the emperor himself, in quality of grand duke of Tuscany, drew some troops from Florence.

During the whole winter, the army was the rendezvous of the troops of the empress queen which came from the Low Countries, Italy, Hungary, and all the German provinces. Five regiments of Uhlans joined the Saxon cavalry, and passed from Poland into Moravia. Never had Austria a stronger army. The command of it was given to prince Charles of Lorraine.

The king of Prussia reinforced his army in Saxony, and, to oppose the light Hungarian troops, he formed a sort of light infantry, or *free battalions*, which he employed nearly in the manner of the Croats.

But Austria was not the only power against whom it became necessary for Frederick to defend himself. A Russian army, commanded by general Apraxin, ad-

vanced against the kingdom of Prussia. One hundred thousand French were preparing to make an irruption into Prussian Westphalia. The states of Sweden had already resolved, in quality of guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, to send an army into Pomerania, to oppose the king of Prussia, and assist the states of the empire. In the month of September, 1756, the tribunal of the empire, or rather the aulic council, had summoned the king of Prussia to appear and give an account of his conduct, as a perturbator of the public peace. It was signified to him, that he must withdraw his troops from Bohemia and Saxony; a demand to which he refused compliance, and was, therefore, put under the ban of the empire, the states being summoned to assemble an army to execute the sentence. (73)

Whilst Frederick saw that the collected force of his enemies amounted to 700,000 men, he felt that with all his allies he could hardly muster 260,000.

As some of his enemies could not commence their operations till the season was far advanced, he resolved to open the campaign as early as possible, and attack with his whole united forces the empress queen; a foe of all others the most powerful, and, yet, the most within his reach. He felt that if he had the good fortune to strike a decisive blow at the opening of the campaign, he should slacken, or perhaps totally crush, the projects of the other powers.

If the king, on the one hand, was urged by these motives to press a decisive action, the same reasons induced the empress queen to pursue a different system.

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She resolved to keep on the defensive, until her allies were able to take the field, foreseeing that Frederick would then be obliged to divide his army into different corps, which would diminish his forces on every side. She waited for this favourable moment to commence her operations, and in the interim thought of nothing but putting her possessions in security against the attacks of her enemy.

On this system, general Brown divided his army into different corps. The first, which was commanded by duke d'Aremberg, took post near Eger; the second, under Brown, near Budin; the third, under the command of count Kœnigsegg, near Reichenberg; and the fourth remained in Moravia, under the orders of count Serbelloni.

By this disposition, the general thought to cover Bohemia. Each of these corps was considerable, and they could easily be collected to repulse the enemy, where-ever he should attempt to penetrate into that kingdom.

The king, who wished to enter Bohemia, divided his army likewise into four bodies: the first, commanded by prince Moritz, was near Chemnitz; Frederick commanded the second at Lokowitz; the third was at Zittau, under the duke of Bevern; and the fourth in Silesia, commanded by marshal Schwerin. Each of these corps was rather in good force, and the king thought they might enter separately into Bohemia. Not to expose them, however, to the risk of being separately beaten, he ordered the two former to accomplish a junction as soon as they should leave in their

rear the narrow passes of the mountains between Lowositz and Eger. A similar junction was to take place, between the other two, on the Iser, in the environs of Turnau. By thus uniting the four divisions, he imagined he should reach Prague, the general rendezvous of the army, in security.

The king, dreading lest the enemy should occupy the defiles of the mountains between Lowositz and Lokowitz with a body of infantry, ordered prince Moritz to enter the circle of Satz, and occupy it without delay, on the side of Bohemia. This step would doubtless have compelled the enemy to quit the mountains, to avoid being enclosed between these two corps..

In consequence, prince Moritz quitted Chemnitz in the beginning of April, and advanced directly towards Eger by Zwikkaw and Plauen, with the view of making the enemy believe he either had a design on that place, or meant to pass through it into Bohemia. The duke d'Aremberg, deceived by this false march, collected all his forces near Eger; and *then* it was that prince Moritz took another rout, and marched with great rapidity towards the place of his destination. On the 23d of April he joined the king's army near Linay. Frederick had likewise passed the mountains without any great obstacles, after putting to flight the Austrians who guarded the posts of Aussig under the orders of general Drasschkowitz.

As the camp of Budin was very strong, being covered by the Eger, the king did not think proper to attack it in front; and, therefore, he renewed his march along the banks of the river towards Koschtitz, prepared bridges,

bridges, and passed it with his whole army on the morning of the 26th.

There his light troops and van fell in with the troops of duke d'Aremberg, who was on his march from Eger with the design either of encamping in this country, or of joining general Brown. But this circumstance made him take the resolution of retreating towards Welwarn.

Brown, seeing the king had passed the Eger, and encamped on his left flank, thought proper to quit his position near Budin, and retire towards Prague, which he reached without losing a single man.

The king now ordered the bridges of Budin to be repaired, the more easily to pass his convoys, and directed his march also towards Prague, where he arrived the 2d of May, and encamped on mount Blanc, to the left of the Mulda. The Austrians, now under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine, had abandoned these posts and retreated over the river.

During these transactions, the duke of Bevern had also moved on the 20th of April, and advanced the same day from Zittau towards Reichenberg. There he found count Kœnigsegg encamped with 20,000 men in a valley situated between two high mountains. His position was such, that his right wing and centre were very strong, and it was not easy to attack him in front. The prince of Bevern having chosen this rout to join general Schwerin, and finding himself obliged to give battle, nothing remained but to conduct it in the most advantageous manner. His troops were behind

hind a muddy rivulet, which he could not pass without being exposed to the fire of the enemy, before they could have time to form. Resolved to attack their left wing, he began by sending general Lestwitz beyond the Neisse, to engage, or rather to draw off the attention of the right wing from what he had designed to execute. He then gave orders for the cavalry to advance and begin the action. The attack was brisk, but without success. The Prussians were repulsed. The duke, perceiving that he could never make a successful attack on the enemy's cavalry, so long as the two flanks were covered by infantry and artillery, withdrew his troops. He then detached different battalions from his right wing to ascend the mountains as high as possible, in order to take the cavalry, posted in a wood at the foot of these mountains, in flank and rear. The order was punctually executed; the enemy quitted the wood, and thus gave the duke's cavalry the opportunity of renewing the attack, which was now successfully effected. The Austrians could not resist both the shock of the cavalry and the fire of the Prussian infantry, which occupied the wood. Another skilful manœuvre completed the advantage of the prince of Bevern, and the Austrians were driven out of the valley.

The duke followed them. They encamped in an advantageous position at Saskal, and a fresh action was expected; but the Austrians, learning that general Schwerin was on his march from Silesia, suddenly quitted their position, and retreated towards Prague, to join
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the main army. The duke now effected his junction with general Schwerin, and formed, till they reached Prague, the left wing of his army.

On the 5th of May, the king's troops were united near Prague, where the Austrian army was also collected, almost under the cannon of the fortrefs. Their advantageous position, in an entrenched camp, and surrounded by batteries, did not prevent the king from attacking them the next day; which brought on one of the most memorable battles of this whole war.

The king, who was, on the 5th, on the other side of the Mulda, towards the narrow entrance into the city of Prague, with the army he had brought from Saxony, left general Keith on mount Blanc with a body of troops, on the evening of the same day crossed the Mulda with the remainder below Prague, and on the morning of the 6th joined Schwerin's army, which had passed the Elbe near Melnic. The Prussian army consisted of 80,000 men. The Austrians, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine, had their camp defended on the left by the citadel of Ziskaberg, in the rear by the city of Prague, and in front by steep hills and batteries. On the right was a marshy meadow, across which was a causeway for the cannon. The king remained half an hour with general Schwerin examining the position of the enemy. (74) The attack was intended by the king to be in front. Schwerin, who entertained a different opinion, at length prevailed on the king to permit him to advance towards the right wing of the Austrians. To attain this, he was obliged to make a great circuit, which gave the Austrians time to strengthen them-

themselves in this part, and to take possession of some heights. Prince Charles made the second line of this wing advance into the first, in order to lengthen it, and as the left wing was sufficiently defended by the city, he detached 13 regiments of cavalry from it to the assistance of the right. When the Prussian cavalry approached the causeway, they found themselves in face of a line of 104 squadrons. At the sight of the Prussians, this whole line fired on them at fifty paces distance, and then poured on them with such impetuosity as twice to oblige them to give way. A similar fate seemed to await the Prussian infantry. In order to form, they were obliged to come out of a narrow road, the outlet from which was defended by twelve pieces of cannon, whose fire threw the infantry into disorder. The troops which had already passed, and formed, were unable to resist the enemy's fire. Some regiments retreated beyond the causeway, the whole left wing was beginning to give way, and the battle seemed lost. The second line were ordered to fire on the first which was recoiling. These instructions were the cause of increasing the carnage, but without inspiring the soldiers with additional intrepidity. A single heroic action turned the fortune of the day. Schwerin was in the defile. He saw his own regiment hesitate before a battery. He instantly snatches the colours from the hands of an ensign, flourishes them, advances to the head of his regiment, and cries out, *All are cowards who refuse to follow me!* He marches, they follow, they press forward; the regiment advances out of the defile, and Schwerin, mortally wounded, falls, but

but still grasping the colours in his hand. This valiant sacrifice, unexampled but amongst a free people, (75) was the signal of victory. The Prussians recovered their courage; the whole line advanced with intrepidity; prince Henry of Prussia and general Zieten performed prodigies of valour. What appeared at first to have given the victory to the Austrians, proved now the cause of their ruin.. Their right wing, by advancing on the left of the Prussians, had ventured too far from the army. The king immediately sent some regiments to occupy the space which separated them. The right wing, thus cut off, stood unavoidably between two fires, and, aware of the impossibility of rejoining the left, fell back on Beneschau.

The king now attacks the left wing with equal fire. The carnage is dreadful. The Austrians give way, and, finding themselves enclosed on every side, are forced to throw themselves into the town. They expected to quit it by another gate, but Keith prevented them.

Forty-eight thousand Austrians, with a great number of princes and generals, found themselves shut up in Prague, 10,000 were made prisoners by the Prussians, and 5000 either killed or wounded in the field of battle. The conqueror took 240 pieces of cannon. (76)

Frederick lost 10,000 men in this action; and more than a whole army in general Schwerin. The Austrians likewise lost general Brown; a loss felt as sensibly on their side. He had commanded the right wing against Schwerin, and died, a few days after, of the wounds received in this battle. (77)

The mind shudders on reflecting, that an action in which

which 30,000 men were slain and wounded on a few acres of land, in the space of not many hours, produced scarcely any change in the situation of affairs. It did not abate the rage of war, nor give rise to the least hope of peace. This battle is remarkable for the consequences expected from it, and which never took effect. It was natural to pursue and exterminate the Austrians who had taken flight, and to force those who were shut up in Prague, by fire and famine, to surrender at discretion. It appeared beyond a doubt that the king of Prussia would pursue this mode of acting, and the public opinion saw him already master of Bohemia, before the Austrians could oppose to him a fresh army. This opinion was erroneous.

Frederick sent the duke of Bevern with 20,000 men in pursuit of the Austrian right wing; but his efforts were in vain, and, in spite of the duke, they formed a junction with another corps of Austrians near Colin. These troops were augmented by reinforcements from Moravia and Hungary. In a short time a considerable army was collected there, and general Daun sent from Vienna to command it. (78)

Daun is the first general whose talents were calculated to vie with those of Frederick. He possessed the art of observing attentively the motions of the king, of divining his intentions, of escaping from him, or of counteracting him by skilful manœuvres, and of avoiding a battle in the open field, or at least of never accepting it but with the advantage of ground and circumstances.

Since the battle of Prague, this city was invested and

and blocked on all sides. A great part of the buildings were already reduced to ashes; provisions began to fail; new batteries were preparing to force the besieged to surrender. But Daun's army, now 60,000 strong, tried to approach the town and raise the siege. Bevern, too feeble to resist, was under the necessity of retreating. But the king, leaving the investment under the care of Keith, joined that prince, and advanced towards Daun with 23 battalions and 90 squadrons.

Military men pretend that the king might have chosen a position whence he could have prevented Daun from penetrating to Prague, or have obliged him to give battle in the plain, if he attempted to force his passage. Prague could only hold out a few days. But Frederick, accustomed to rush on victory, determined to attack the enemy, and was beaten.

Daun had taken post on the heights between Colin and Planian, and in this position waited the attack. His two wings were supported by little hills, and defended by cannon, as well as his front. The king began the attack (18 June), with the grenadiers, on the flank of the right wing. Daun reinforced it. The Prussian grenadiers, climbing up some steep eminencies, on this side got possession of a village and some batteries, and pushed the flank behind the right wing. Daun thought of a retreat, and had already written notes to his generals pointing out the place of rendezvous. The right wing of the Prussians, commanded by prince Moritz, was not to engage with the enemy's left, but to fire always from right to left, to support the attack of the cavalry, who continued to penetrate more

more and more into the Austrian right wing. The victory was looked upon as certain, and prince Moritz, burning with a desire of taking a part in it, made the infantry of the right wing advance against the Austrian line. The latter had the advantage of the heights, and were defended by strong batteries. The Prussians were repulsed. Their lines separating, the enemy's cavalry, and especially the Saxon light horse, took advantage of this disorder. The two wings were cut. The Austrian line was still four men deep, a circumstance greatly in their favour; for, when the Prussian grenadiers attacked the flank of the right wing, the two last ranks faced about, and covered their rear, whilst the two front ranks sustained the vigorous attack of the Prussian guards. The king was not accustomed to find an invincible resistance. He recommenced the attack with reinforcements. His two brothers Henry and Ferdinand put themselves at the head of the grenadiers. Every fresh attack produced fresh carnage. One half of the Prussian battalions were swept away by the fire of the batteries and of the Austrian musketry, and their right wing became so weakened, that, after seven successive attacks, in the space of four hours, the king was obliged to abandon his design. Nor was the left wing more fortunate: it was compelled likewise to give way. But the Austrians, taught by the recent example of the 6th of May, took care not to pursue, and thus expose themselves to be cut off. They kept their position, and towards the evening the king took the road to Nimbourg with his army one half diminished. Six thousand five hundred men remained

maintained on the field of battle; upwards of 12,000 were wounded, taken, or deserted. Nor was the loss of the Austrians less considerable. (79)

This reverse only served to shew Frederick's resources in misfortune. His conduct in these circumstances has not merely silenced detraction, but augmented the number of his admirers.

After this battle, he was obliged to raise the siege of Prague. There are few towns the fortune of which it has been so often to have armies shut up in it, and to be besieged. If it was not taken on this occasion, the conclusion is less in favour of its strength, than in the assailants want of experience in the art of sieges. 170,000 bombs or red-hot balls thrown by the Prussians destroyed 900 edifices, but not a single work was carried. As the city is very large, they were never able to set fire to the great magazines of hay and straw that were in the middle. The Prussians suffered still further losses in their retreat from Prague: they were obliged to leave 2500 wounded, who were made prisoners, and some pieces of cannon, which fell into the hands of the conquerors.

After the battle of Colin, the king divided his army into two corps. He conducted the first into Saxony, and sent the other into Lusatia, under the command of the hereditary prince of Prussia, his brother. The former retreated without any considerable loss, but the army under the prince royal was not so fortunate. The grand Austrian army, so posted as to obstruct the prince's march towards Gabel, attacked major general Putkammer, who was in that place with a garrison of

four weak battalions, and obliged him to surrender. The capture of this post interrupting the prince's communication with the magazines of Zittau, he was obliged to seek another by Kamnitz and Kreywitz. In this march, the baggage waggons, escorted by a feeble battalion of Saxons, were attacked near Hasel. The confusion and the fears of the drivers occasioned several waggons to run against each other and break. Several pontoons were overturned. The enemy plundered a great deal of baggage, and seized a considerable number of horses. The Pandours, who had taken post behind an abattis hastily constructed, fired on the prince's troops, whilst others were attacking the baggage. A free company of Prussians and the chasseurs made the circuit of the abattis, attacked the Pandours and obliged them to retire. As the waggons totally blocked up the road, it was necessary to break them to pieces, and leave the baggage on the spot, with the exception alone of such as became absolutely requisite. The prince was forced to make a circuit to reach Zittau, and the Austrians by taking the shortest road arrived before him, and possessed themselves of the advantageous post of Eckersberg. The army had been three days in want of bread, but general Winterfeldt had the good fortune to procure some from Zittau. As soon as the enemy's batteries were ready, he began to bombard the town, but six battalions of the garrison sallied out, and safely joined the army. A battalion of grenadiers, formed from the Saxon regiments, beat the chamade, forced one of the gates of the town, and all but about 100 men who joined the army, fled

to the enemy. Colonel Diricke, the commandant of the town, was cut off from his own troops by a fallen house, and made prisoner, as well as major Kleist, of the regiment of the margrave Henry, with the colour division.

The prince retreated with the utmost expedition towards Bautzen, that he might draw his subsistence from Dresden. The king here joined him with sixteen battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, (80) and took the command of the army. Marshal Keith, who had remained in Bohemia with 30 battalions and 60 squadrons, in the environs of Linay, returned to Saxony by Nollendorf, towards the end of July. Prince Moritz remained near Cotta to cover Dresden, and Keith advanced towards Roth-Nausnitz to secure the communication between Bautzen and Dresden. On the 16th of August, the king, after recalling his detachments, set out for Zittau. But he found the enemy in so advantageous a position, that to have made the smallest attempt would have been temerity. Exclusive of these obstacles, other affairs demanded his presence in Saxony.

The battle of Colin seemed to have been a signal for the Russians, the French, the troops of the empire, and the Swedes. It was difficult either to defend or succour Prussian states, widely as they were dispersed, and consisting of several narrow countries. The kingdom of Prussia and the duchy of Cleves are more than 320 leagues distant from each other. Pomerania and Silesia are more than 160 leagues removed. Prussia had an army of 30,000 men, but in the month of June

general Apraxin appeared there with 100,000 Russians. Marshal Leuwald, who commanded the Prussian army, found himself too weak to go and meet them, and was soon obliged to retreat in order to cover Königsberg, for which purpose he took post near Wehlau. The Russians laid waste the country, and Leuwald at length resolved to attack them, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers. The action took place the 30th of August near Gros-Jägersdorf. At the beginning, the Russians had the advantage. The first attack had been made on their left wing, and the dragoons and hussars had taken a battery. But as the infantry were not near enough to support them, and there were other batteries behind the former, they were obliged to retire. The right wing of the Russians was put to flight, and pursued to a considerable distance. The regiment of Plettenberg attacked the infantry in rear and flank, and took a battery of 10 cannon; but the Prussian infantry of the left wing being too distant to support it, this advantage was but momentary. General Romanzow arriving with a corps de reserve, the Prussians fell into disorder, and Leuwald led them back to the camp of Wehlau.

The Prussians lost 4000 men and 12 pieces of cannon. The Russians, for some time after the battle, remained near Jägersdorf, without making any movement. In September, they retired towards Tilsit, and from thence to Memel. The want of provisions served as a pretext for this retreat; but the event has proved, that the chancellor Bestuchef, fearing the death of the empress, who was then ill, and having formed

ed projects of revolutions, had, of his own authority, recalled general Apraxin, who was his friend. At the end of September, the Russians had quitted all Prussia, except Memel. In November, Leuwald withdrew with his troops into Pomerania, leaving only two garrison battalions, some provincial regiments, and 60 hussars in Prussia.

It was nearly at this period, that 17,000 Swedes had passed the Baltic, and in September, after crossing the Péene, entered Prussian Pomerania, where there was no obstacle to interrupt them from penetrating into the marche of Brandenbourg. Even an inconsiderable English squadron, stationed in the Baltic, would have proved equal to the purpose of opposing an insurmountable impediment not only to their progress, but to that of the Russians. Such a naval aid did not, however, make its appearance.

Frederick had no troops with which he could offer them resistance. The states of Pomerania proposed to him to levy 10 battalions of provincial militia, to which he consented, that he might at least be able to put a garrison into Stettin. This accordingly took place. He also sent into this province major general Manteufel with the regiments of Bevern and prince Moritz, and gave him the command of the troops against the Swedes. The latter took without difficulty Anclam, Demmin, Pasewalk, Wollin, and Prentzlau. At the beginning of November, general Ungern left Anclam with the main body of the Swedish army, and advanced as far as Ferdinandshoff. About this time general Leuwald arrived with his forces in the environs of

Stettin, on which the Swedes retired into the part of Pomerania which belongs to them. The Prussians retook Wollin and Anclam, and at the end of the year they were already on the Swedish territory.

The French army, having been reinforced by some Austrian battalions commanded by general Dombasse, and some Palatine regiments, passed the Rhine in April, to encamp in the environs of Dusseldorf, and prepared to attack both Hanover and the Prussian states. The king had no forces sufficient to cover his provinces in Westphalia against so powerful an army. He gave orders for the evacuation of Wesel, (81) so that the French took possession of the duchy of Cleves and Guelderland without any resistance. Not a garrison was left but in the single fortrefs of Guedres, and *this* they endeavoured to render as impregnable as possible by surrounding inundations. Frederick had committed the defence of this country to his allies of Hanover, Brunswick, and Hesse. Their troops formed an army of observation of about 50,000 men, commanded by the duke of Cumberland. They were unable to prevent the French from passing the Weser, and were beaten the 26th of July, near Hastenbeck, by marshal d'Estrées.

From this period, the combined army continued retreating towards Stade, and at length were forced to conclude, on the 8th of September, at Closter-Seven, (82) a convention, which deprived the Hanoverian and Brunswick troops of all activity, and enabled the French to march without any obstacle against the Prussian states. This convention was the work of
marshal

marshal Richelieu, who by court intrigues had found the means to obtain the command of the army.

The marshal, who had no longer any thing to oppose his progress, retired into the territory of Brunswick, and established his head quarters at Wolfenbittel. He sent his light troops into the old marche, and to Priegnitz, as well as into the principality of Halberstadt, laid all the provinces under contribution, and placed a garrison at Regenstein, which before was only guarded by 80 invalids. His plan was to take Magdebourg.

Twenty thousand men levied by the empire were assembled near Nuremberg, (83) and in August formed a junction with a French army under the prince of Soubise. These troops, reinforced by some Austrian regiments, passed soon after into Saxony.

After the battle of Colin, the grand Austrian army had retreated towards Lusatia, under the orders of prince Charles and Daun. The prince of Bevern was destined to oppose it, but found himself too weak. In September he was obliged to retreat from Lusatia, and, passing the Bober near Bunzlau, retire into Silesia. The Austrians followed him step by step to the very gates of Breslaw.

The king was with another army near Naumbourg, for the purpose of watching the motions of the French. In these circumstances, the Hungarian general Hadick slipped by Lower Lusatia into the heart of the marche of Brandenburg, with 4000 light troops and a few pieces of artillery. Maria Theresa had the satisfaction of possessing twenty-four hours the capital of

Frederick. Berlin was laid under contribution on the 16th of October. Haddick's enterprize strikes us at first sight with astonishment, but it was in fact attended with little difficulty. The city of Berlin has neither ramparts nor ditches; it is only surrounded by pallisades designed to hinder the clandestine entrance of smugglers. The garrison, which in time of peace consists of 25,000 men, was then only composed of five feeble battalions of provincial militia. Two of these battalions, resisting at the gate, were either cut to pieces or made prisoners. The others escorted the queen, the princesses, and the commandant of the city, who escaped to Spandau. The conduct of the conqueror was prudent, his demands moderate, and the discipline admirable. When we reflect that he was at the head of a troop of partizans, whom the hope of booty had rendered indefatigable, and who imagined they had a right to pillage a town without defence, we cannot but be surprized at their moderation. And they seemed to be so much the more authorized to pursue a different conduct, as several of the citizens had mixed with the garrison, and an Hungarian colonel, called Bobokzai, had been wounded by a butcher. Haddick demanded 300,000 crowns. As this sum was not paid at the appointed time, he took possession of the gates, and increased his demand to 500,000; but at length contented himself with 200,000.

At the same time, Schweidnitz was besieged by general Nadaſti.

The combined army of the French and the empire
spread

spread itself over the environs of Leipzig, and the king had enfeebled his by sending away detachments to cover Brandenburg.

Such was the situation of the king of Prussia and his states, towards the end of October. In August, the tribunal of the empire had declared him stripped of all his dignities and possessions in the empire. At this period, he seemed destitute of all resources whatsoever, (84) and yet he drew them from his own genius, and above all from fortune; persevering through the execution of his plan with as much confidence as if he had been sure of victory. His first step was to march against the combined army. He had not 30,000 men, whereas the combined army consisted of upwards of 60,000.

At the king's approach, Soubise passed the Sale, burnt the bridges, and encamped advantageously near Micheln, between the Sale and the Unstrut. The king repaired the bridges, followed the enemy, and encamped opposite to him, on the 2d of November, near the village of Rosbach. On the fifth, a battle took place, which may, perhaps, without an outrage to humanity, be considered as less fierce and sanguinary than diverting. But little blood was spilt. Stratagem supplied the want of force; the vanquished hardly thought of defending themselves, and owed their defeat to a panic.

The king's stratagem consisted in drawing the enemy from his advantageous position, and in inviting his attack towards the left flank, where he wished it to be made. The battle of Colin had inspired Frederick with

with more prudence, and his enemies with more confidence. The combined army had in front an eminence and strong batteries. The right wing, formed by the troops of the circles, was defended by woods and abattis, and morasses prevented every approach to the left wing. On the 4th of November, Frederick made his army, which was before in order of battle, return into the camp. The enemy imputed this conduct to fear and irresolution in the Prussians, and were confirmed in this idea, on seeing them abandon their camp as if in disorder. Soubise, fearing this little army should escape him, determined to surround it the next day, and either to take or to destroy it.

Agreeably to this plan, his army got into motion on the 5th of November, in the morning. The two wings filed in columns to the right and left, to turn the Prussian wings, and take them in the rear. Saint Germain approached the Prussians with the point of the opposite line, in order to conceal the movement of the right wing, which was to pass behind the Prussian army. On that side, their columns had advanced, under the orders of prince Soubise and Hildbourghausen, as far as the Prussian left wing, and had begun to turn its rear. The position of the French army may be said to have resembled a bow, the string of which was formed by the Prussian army.

It was noon when the king finished his observations on the enemy's motions, and discovered their whole plan. He ordered the army to dine in camp, dined himself quietly at Rossbach, and did not get into motion till one o'clock. He first made a feint of retreating towards

towards Mersebourg. The tents were prepared ; the army seemed to wish to avoid the attack ; a small eminence concealed them from the enemy. The latter, fearful of losing the opportunity, hurried to intercept the Prussians. But Seidlitz, at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, who had only followed the road to Mersebourg till he was out of sight, no sooner saw himself concealed by the heights, than he returned to join the left of the Prussians, and found himself on the flank of the combined army. The latter still kept advancing on the high grounds, thinking they were in pursuit of a routed enemy, when, on a sudden, they found the Prussians in order of battle, with a range of batteries. Seidlitz immediately precipitates himself with his cavalry on the enemy. The Austrian cavalry regiments of Bretlach and Trautmansdorf made a vigorous resistance, but were obliged to give way to a second shock, as impetuous as the first. The rest of the enemy's cavalry instantly followed them full gallop ; as did, soon after, the whole army. The right wing, which was advancing, was disturbed by the sudden appearance of a line of Prussians, and by the continual fire of the heavy and light artillery. Disorder took place among the soldiers ; time was not allowed them to form in columns in order of battle. Soubise attempted an attack with the bayonet, without firing, but unsuccessfully. The Prussian infantry still kept advancing and firing as if at exercise. The French seemed to acknowledge them for their masters, and fled. It is remarked, to the honour of the Swiss, that their brigades stood firm the longest, nor did they

they give way till prince Soubise ordered them to retreat.

The left wing of the enemy did not wait the attack, but fought for safety by flying on another side. The rout was general, and the victory complete. The Prussians lost only one colonel, and not more than 1500 men killed and wounded. Nor is this difficult to be conceived; for, besides the cavalry, there were but twelve battalions of the Prussian left wing engaged, and the battle only lasted two hours. The French, although forbidden to fire, and ordered to charge only with the bayonet, in both instances neglected to obey. They threw down their arms, and fled with the utmost precipitation.

Not above 2000 men were left on the field of battle; but there were upwards of 6000 prisoners, among whom were 11 generals, and 250 officers. The greatest part of the army would have been either massacred or taken, had not night come to the relief of the fugitives. The Prussians took likewise 72 cannon, 22 standards, and a great number of crosses of St. Louis, which the hussars fastened to their button-holes.

The king went to visit all the wounded officers, and said, *I cannot accustom myself to look upon the French as my enemies.* From this moment Frederick had not more zealous admirers than the French. They considered him as the hero of his age, as superior to all his enemies in the military art; and this idea diminished the chagrin of their defeat. Thus reasoned the heroes of Homer, and, throughout the times of ancient chivalry, every adventurous knight has found a consolation

lation for his defeat in the idea that a victorious antagonist has derived aid either from some interposing but invisible deity ; from some tutelary saint ; or some talisman of which the operations were irresistible.

Few victories have produced so general a sensation. It appeared as if the king of Prussia had espoused the cause of nations against the French ; and the Germans themselves, the allies of the French, who had put Frederick under the ban of the empire, considered this day as a day of national triumph. (85)

The beaten troops dispersed themselves on all sides, and broke down the bridges for fear of a pursuit. The king could not carry to greater lengths the example which he had set them ; because a more urgent danger required his presence in Silesia, where he was menaced with the total loss of that province. Maria-Theresa declared that she thought herself justified in recovering Silesia, since Frederick, by his inroad into Bohemia, had violated the articles of those treaties by which it was ceded to him. It is not to be wondered at, that this conquest should form the principal object of the plan of the court of Vienna. Since this province had fallen under the Prussian government, its value was become better known. A more intelligent administration, without any new imposts, enabled the king to maintain there an army of 30,000 men ; and the court of Vienna now experienced, for the first time, that the mountains of Bohemia and Moravia were but feeble barriers against so powerful a neighbour.

The Austrian light troops had ravaged Silesia on all sides, and ruined that province by continual contributions.

butions. There was no army strong enough to resist them, and the fortresses were without defence. Major generals Keytzen and Mitzscheval had attacked the Austrian colonel Janus, on the 14th of August, near Landshout, but were repulsed with considerable loss: in consequence, major general Grumkow had been sent into Silesia with a body of troops, and the prince of Bevern had orders to encamp advantageously near Görlitz, and never to lose sight of the communication with Silesia. His camp at Görlitz was so disposed as to render it no easy matter to attack him to advantage. Lieutenant general Winterfeldt was on the other side the Neisse with another corps, and in his front was the hill of Holzberg, on which two battalions were encamped. On the 7th of September, the enemy made an attack with superior forces, and there was an action, in which general Winterfeldt was mortally wounded, and the hill abandoned after a vigorous resistance. The Austrians took some cannon and colours, and made 300 prisoners, among whom were general Kanaker, and the count of Anhalt, who was wounded. The prince of Bevern drew to his camp of Görlitz the body of troops stationed at Bautzen under general Rebentisch. After this retreat, the enemy took possession of Bautzen, and made the free battalion of Chosignon, who were left in the castle, prisoners. The 10th of September, Bevern marched towards Silesia, passed the Queis without opposition, and arrived at Bunzlau. The Croats, who followed him, were repulsed by the free battalions, supported by the regiment of Brunswick. As Bevern's main object was to

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cover Breslaw, he continued his march towards that city by Lignitz. On his arrival near Breslaw, he formed an entrenched camp, and the Austrian army of 100,000 men strong, after receiving their Bavarian and Wirtemberg reinforcements, continued to follow him, and encamped over against him.

The Austrians, who were strong enough to divide, detached a considerable corps under general Nadaſti, to lay siege to Schweidnitz, whilst Bevern's army was diminishing every day, by the detachments he was obliged to send to strengthen the Silesian garrisons. When all these had proceeded to Schweidnitz, Glogau, Brieg, and Cosel, he had scarcely 25,000 men remaining. Major general Sers commanded the fortress of Schweidnitz, which he had himself constructed. It was invested the 13th of October, and taken by assault on the 12th of November. The besiegers consisted of more than 30,000 men, and the siege was directed by colonel de Riverſon, a French engineer. The garrison, composed of 6000 men and upwards, and provided with every thing, defended itself with courage. The besiegers, consisting chiefly of Bavarians and Wirtembergers, lost 2500 men. Four generals, and 3000 men of the garrison, were made prisoners. This surrender was made much against their will, and the greatest part of them escaped from the hands of the conqueror. Sers, who concluded the capitulation, felt apparently, either that the fortress was not strong enough, or that his force was insufficient to defend it. The enemy found a great quantity of ammunition, and a considerable military chest. This acquisition was of great

great importance to the Austrians, to whom it opened a free communication with Bohemia. A few days after, Nadaſti's corps joined the army near Breſlaw.

The prince of Bevern, entrenched in his camp, had, in his front, the Lohe, a marſhy rivulet, and a chain of villages, parapets, and batteries; on his right, the Oder; on his left, entrenchments; and the city in his rear. As ſoon as the Austrians heard of the Pruſſian victory at Roſbach, and that the king was on his march to Sileſia, they determined to loſe no time in attacking the prince's camp before his arrival. On the morning of the 22d of November, they paſſed the Lohe, after forcing the Pruſſian batteries on that ſide. Towards noon the fire of the muſketry began. The combat was obſtinate and bloody. Every ſtep the Austrians took coſt them thouſands of lives; but they had numbers wherewithal to replace them.

Nadaſti, who formed the right wing with the corps he commanded, found himſelf oppoſed to general Zieten, and was obliged to give way. The Austrians thought the battle loſt on that ſide. The Pruſſians defended the camp till the evening, when they retreated towards the town. But the prince of Bevern thought himſelf too weak to expoſe himſelf to a ſecond attack from an enemy ſo ſuperior in numbers. He traversed the city, paſſed the Oder the next day, and abandoned Breſlaw to the defence of a gariſon of 3000 men.

Bevern's conduct has been condemned. The Auſtrian officers themſelves declared, that, on the very evening of the battle, they did not think themſelves

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so near a victory. Their loss was computed at 20,000 men, killed and wounded. Even granting the Prussians to have lost only 10,000 men, this circumstance was sufficient to justify the fears of Bevern. Two days after the battle, the prince of Bevern, having advanced on horseback to reconnoitre the enemy, was himself taken prisoner. It is not known whether this happened by imprudence, or whether he did not prefer captivity amongst the Austrians, to his situation as general of a beaten army. (86)

Two days after this victory, the Austrians took Breslaw. A garrison of 3000 men was unable to defend this vast place against an army so powerful as that of the Austrians. The dispositions of a great part of the inhabitants and garrison greatly facilitated this conquest; they lent themselves to the victory. The garrison were allowed freely to march out, but most of the soldiers quitted their colours, and went over to the conquerors. Kolowrat, the Austrian minister, in the name of the empress queen, received the oaths of such as were inclined to retain their employments. Schafgotfch, the bishop of Silesia, was the first to shew the example. He crouched under the victor, forgetting all the duties of fidelity and gratitude he owed to Frederick, his benefactor. (87) This honest ecclesiastic imagined that the king had lost Silesia for ever, and that his ruin was inevitable. This idea was natural under those critical circumstances which presented themselves, and the same fidelity and constancy cannot be required from a bishop as from the general of an army. The Austrians put garrisons into Breslaw, and

Schweidnitz, and thus cut off the king from Brieg, Glatz, Cosel, and Neisse. Their army was upwards of 80,000 strong, and that which the king brought from Saxony was so feeble, that the Austrians jestingly entitled it *the Parade of Berlin*. The former had the advantage likewise of position, and their soldiers were fresh; but the king's army was fatigued by long and forced marches. Yet Daun did not suffer himself to be blinded by too much confidence: he posted himself advantageously near Schweidnitz, waiting for the king to attack him. Prince Charles, on the contrary, was for meeting the Prussians and giving them battle. Couriers were sent to Vienna for instructions, and the attack was ordered. Frederick wished for no more. After the battle of Rosbach, he had taken the rout of Silesia by Lusatia, and, on the 4th of December, after 22 days march, he arrived near Neumark, at eight leagues distance from Breslaw, with 19 battalions and 33 squadrons. After calling to him Bevern's army, which still consisted of 10,000 men, he resolved to attack the Austrians on the ensuing day.

The enemy, in order of battle, were waiting for the Prussians in a plain near the village of Leuthen. Their right wing almost touched the village of Nickern, and extended to that of Leuthen, and their left reached as far as Sagschatz. The army occupied, in two lines, a space of two leagues, amply supplied with batteries. The king, after repulsing, near Borne, an advanced post of some regiments of hussars and Saxon cavalry, directly advanced on the right wing of the Austrians. This wing was reinforced and commanded

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by general Daun ; but, in an instant, the whole Prussian army formed in four columns, turned to the right, and rushed with impetuosity on the Austrian left wing, the flank of which was formed by Nadaſti. “ *There are the Wirtembergers, cried the king, they will be the first to give us room.*” He knew that these troops served against him contrary to their inclination, and they retreated, in fact, after the first discharge of musketry ; the whole flank shortly afterwards imitating their example. The attack was next made upon the right wing, where the Austrians, deceived by the false onset, had collected their greatest strength. A battery advanced, disorder took place among the enemy, who were pressed against each other, and fighting 40 or 50 men deep. They chose a fresh position near the village of Leuthen ; and here the carnage was dreadful. The Austrians entrenched themselves in the church-yard and the court-yards of the peasants, but, after a few hours resistance, they were obliged to abandon their posts and retreat beyond Lissa. It was night, and victory decided, totally, in favour of the Prussians. They left 4000 men on the field of battle. The Austrians lost upwards of 6000, and, in the course of a few days, above 20,000 prisoners more were successively taken from them, and a great part of their artillery, baggage, and waggons, fell into the hands of the conqueror. (88)

The king passed the night at Lissa, in the head quarters before occupied by prince Charles.

On the 6th of December, the Austrians retired behind the Lohe, put a garrison of 16,000 men into

Breslaw, with a strong train of artillery, and directed their course towards Schweidnitz with the remainder of their troops. The king sent a body of men after them, and another to drive the enemy from Upper Silesia: as for himself, he undertook the siege of Breslaw. He placed his heavy artillery in the garden of a convent situated in one of the suburbs, and bombarded the town. A powder magazine, which blew up on the ramparts, prepared the way for an assault. The garrison did not wait for that extremity, but capitulated on the 20th of December. (89)

An army of 13 generals, 700 officers, and 18,000 men, marched out on the 21st of December, without either baggage or beat of drum, by the gate of Schweidnitz: they laid down their arms before the king, and returned into the town by another gate as prisoners of war. If we add to these prisoners the 20,000 made in consequence of the action of the 5th, we shall find that the number of Austrians in the power of the king considerably exceeded that of the army by which they were taken. On the whole, this campaign cost Austria upwards of 70,000 men, with all their baggage, and scarcely 30,000 returned into Bohemia. Those who remained at Schweidnitz were blocked in that place.

After the capture of Breslaw, the king wrote a letter to the empress queen, manifesting a desire for peace. (90)

Thus, towards the end of 1757, had the king recovered almost all his states, and driven the enemy from their very confines. One part of his troops took

up their winter quarters in Saxony, under prince Henry. The Russians had withdrawn from Prussia, alledging as an excuse their want of magazines. This gave general Leuwald time to march into Pomerania, and to repulse, even to the cannon of Stralsund, the Swedes who had approached Berlin. It was their intention, if possible, to have conquered Prussian Pomerania; and Swedish Pomerania fell into the hands of the Prussians. (91) The French and the army of the circles were removed for a long time.

The courageous resistance of the king had given all his enemies sufficient reason to desire repose, of which they stood at least as much in need as he did. Never, perhaps, did the world behold such sudden, such astonishing, such unexpected revolutions. Never was there a more prodigious opposition between appearances and events. The two last months of this year are, without contradiction, the most remarkable in the life of Frederick. Never was it more positively proved, that it was his genius and his presence that communicated to his troops the activity and bravery which rendered them the terror of his enemies. The mind is filled with astonishment, on beholding the genius of a single man so influence an army of 20,000 as to enable them to vanquish 100,000. It is with wonder that we contemplate this hero, with his little troop, resisting half a million of enemies, and confounding all their projects. But, when we reflect that this enterprizing warrior undertook all his labours for the defence of his states, his honour, and his liberty, our astonishment is changed into admiration, and we follow him with in-

terest in the execution of all his projects. Such is the impression made by the king of Prussia on the greatest part of his contemporaries.

Let us suppose that Prussia had lost 150,000 men in the two campaigns; and this is little in comparison of 300,000 men at least lost by Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, and Germany, in the same war.

The seasons and epidemical disorders joined their ravages to those of arms for the destruction of the human race; but, seven battles, and the butchery of 450,000 men, could not terminate the war: scarcely did the contending parties bestow a thought on peace. Exertions were made to reinforce the armies; and here the king of Prussia had much fewer resources than the collective allies. The latter commanded * 50 millions of subjects; Frederick governed at most five millions. But his genius and firmness proved a substitute for all; he found money and soldiers. King George and Mr. Pitt obtained him a subsidy of four millions of crowns from the parliament of England. With this money, he ordered the directors of his mint to procure him ten millions annually for his use, and the mint performed this miracle. It is true, that the coin they struck was not intrinsically worth the third of the sum it represented; but it served the king as efficaciously as if it had been of better alloy. The soldiers stood

* France, Russia, the empress queen, Sweden, and the German circles, certainly contain infinitely beyond the number here stated; so that this calculation cannot be charged with exaggeration.

in need of provisions, the price of commodities did not immediately rise in proportion to the diminution of the specie, and Prussia gained by it.

The army was augmented. Recruits were raised in Saxony, and in Mecklenbourg and Anhalt. Deserters were recalled by amnesties. A great number of Austrian, French, Swedish, and Wirtemberg prisoners enlisted in the king's troops, and a military force sprung up composed of free battalions.

The first enterprize against Brandenburg in 1758 was by a French army, under the command of the duke de Richelieu. In the beginning of January, he sent general Voyer d'Argenson to Halberstadt, with 12,000 men. This town was not fortified, and the garrison, unable to defend themselves, retired to Magdebourg, in the sight of the French. But the place, which contained some thousands of inhabitants, was treated with as much severity as if it had been taken by assault. The Germans make a general complaint of the conduct of the French on this occasion. They affirm that the manner in which contributions were exacted, resembled a real scene of pillage. The immediate payment of 244,000 crowns was demanded, as well as all the cattle and corn. The soldiers searched every house, and the inhabitants were forbidden, under pain of plunder and the gibbet, to conceal arms, corn, or money, above the amount of five crowns. In vain did they make use of prayers and representations. The marquis d'Argenson had but one answer, *money, corn, —or fire*. He required for himself and his officers a gift of 10,000 crowns under the denomination of *re-*

demption money. He destroyed the gates and walls of the town, and left it with a menace of exacting 100,000 crowns as often as they should receive Prussian troops; and, to secure obedience, he carried off with him, as hostages, some persons of consideration belonging to the chamber of domains, the chapter, and the municipal body.

“ All this,” observes a German author, “ happened
“ in the middle of the eighteenth century. These
“ disorders were committed by a body of regular
“ troops; by a nation which wishes to pass for the
“ most polished in Europe. The duke de Richelieu,
“ who issued such commands, was deemed one of the
“ most polished noblemen of the court; and the mar-
“ quis d’Argenson, son of a minister of state, possessed,
“ doubtless, no less education and politeness; yet the
“ names of *Richelieu* and of *Argenson* are more ab-
“ horred in these countries, than in others those of
“ *Menzel* and of *Trenck*. The citizens of Berlin were
“ much more fortunate than the inhabitants of Hal-
“ berstadt, in falling into the hands of an Hunga-
“ rian.”

But, whatever may be the opinion of this German writer, these ravages, if they be really such as he has painted them, may admit of some excuse, from the manner in which the king of Prussia had acted towards France; and was not their mortification at having been the victims of a simple stratagem at Rosbach calculated to make a lively impression on the ardent imaginations of the French, with whom the first impulse not unfrequently weakens those principles of moderation

moderation and of honour which characterize the nation? Where is the ancient or modern people, whose history is destitute of similar examples? What nations oppressed by misfortune have had so much moderation, as not to overcharge the picture of their calamities; and what reasonable man will think of judging a whole state from these paintings, and from the actions of one or two individuals, whom chance or intrigue may have placed at the head of an army?

This enterprize of the French had put the Brunswick and Hanoverian troops in motion, and a body of Prussians who quitted Saxony to oppose them. In February, the latter, commanded by prince Henry of Prussia, repulsed the French from these countries towards the Weser, and the prince returned to Saxony. The king could only reinforce his allies with some regiments, but he gave them a man who was himself worth more than an army; prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. This prince continued so successfully to drive the French, that, towards the end of February, their whole army had repassed the Weser, and, before the end of March, the Rhine. They had scarcely 30,000 men remaining.

Frederick no longer apprehended any considerable enterprize on the side of the French. Duke Ferdinand, and the hereditary prince of Brunswick, were now able to repel their army. But, on the other side, preparations were making by the Russians to enter into the heart of Brandenburg. Prussia had been abandoned and was wholly in their power. The king, finding himself unable to provide a sufficient defence
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for a country so remote from his other states, had nothing left but to approximate the other bodies of his troops as much as possible, that he might the more readily communicate on all sides the influence of his presence. He was obliged also to let his enemies approach him, so as to be able to attack them in every quarter, without removing too far either from the centre of his states, from the Elbe, or from the Oder. This position enabled him opportunely to send reinforcements to any station where a decisive blow might be expected.

It was not clear whether the Russians would turn upon the marche of Brandenbourg or on Silesia. The king prepared for both events: his army was completed with 50,000 soldiers of his own countries, and 20,000 foreigners, and he had sent the new recruits into winter quarters to learn the service.

Previous to the arrival of the Russians, Frederick was anxious to gain some advantage over the Austrians, and he commenced the campaign in Silesia with the siege of Schweidnitz. The trenches were opened on the 1st of April. Four and twenty heavy cannon, and 36 mortars, silenced the fire of the besieged. On the 15th, the sap had been pushed as far as the palisades; the night following, the Prussians mounted to the assault, and the garrison surrendered on capitulation the 16th. Two generals, 173 officers, and 5000 men, were made prisoners. This conquest did not cost the king 100 men.

From the preparations the king now made, it seemed as if he intended marching into Bohemia. The Austrians

trians were deceived by these appearances, and collected their troops at Nachod, under the orders of Daun. Frederick's real object was Moravia, for which province he marched on the 17th of April, assembled his troops at Troppau, and arrived on the 8th of May at Olmutz. This march was so rapid, that in three days the army advanced 40 leagues. Daun was still in Bohemia.

Moravia was only defended by a feeble corps. General Wille, who commanded there, threw his infantry into the garrison of Olmutz, and retreated with his cavalry to Brunn. Olmutz was besieged as soon as the cannon arrived. This place had never hitherto been considered as a fortress of importance, capable of sustaining a formal siege, and of retarding the projects of the king. The principal magazine of the Austrians was at Leutomissel, on the frontiers of Moravia: it did not appear possible for Daun to arrive in time to defend it, and there seemed no doubt of its falling into the hands of the Prussians. In fact, Frederick, in directing his course towards Moravia, intended to seize upon this magazine, to make an irruption into Bohemia on this side, and to draw the Austrians to a great distance from the Russian army. But this plan was a secret. At the conclusion of a letter from the king to the marquis d'Argens, he says, "I wish to write you something new, my dear marquis; but there is a severe prohibition against writing any thing from the army for six weeks."

The light troops of the Prussians spread devastation to the frontiers of Austria. Vienna dreaded to see the
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king of Prussia shortly at her gates, and indeed no circumstances seemed more probable than all these. But events once more belied appearances. Olmutz was not taken. General Marschal made a vigorous defence, and Daun had time enough to gain Leutomissel, cover the magazines, and throw reinforcements into Olmutz. This town had been besieged from the 27th of May, and the sap was advanced as far as the glacis. One hundred and twenty-eight thousand balls and bombs (92) were thrown: nothing remained but to make a breach and mount to the assault. But Daun, being arrived near Olmutz, sent a detachment commanded by Laudohn, who on the 29th of June took 4000 Prussian waggons, laden with money, provisions, and military stores. This loss, the want of subsistence, and the approach of the whole Austrian army, obliged the king to raise the siege, and abandon Moravia.

It is impossible to withhold our admiration from the conduct of Marshal Daun. He had relieved the town without losing a man; he had dexterously avoided a battle, and put his enemy into a position wherein it was as dangerous for the king to risk an action as to continue the siege. Such was the situation of the Prussians on the 1st of July, when Daun lay encamped near Olmutz. By remaining in this position, the king had reason to apprehend an attack in front from Daun, in the rear and flank from the garrison, and by the considerable corps of Laudohn, Janus, and Siskowitz, who were in the neighbourhood. In such a situation, nothing less was necessary than an extraordinary share of genius, much good fortune, and all the splendor of a
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great name, to awe a superior enemy, and make him dread the consequences of an attack. Frederick extricated himself without the smallest loss. At the moment the least looked for by his enemies, he departed for Bohemia, and in the middle of July encamped near Kœnigsgratz. Daun and Laudohn followed him, the one on his right, the other on his left, and took post opposite to him, near Lubschau. In this position the two armies continued during a fortnight.

The king had neither time to await a battle nor to proceed to Prague; he was obliged to fly to defend the frontiers of the marche. In the beginning of the year, the Russians had taken possession of Prussia, from whence they advanced, without resistance, by Poland, into the new marche, as far as the Oder. Dohna, the Prussian general, was obliged to quit the Swedes near Stralsund, to oppose the progress of the Russians; but he was too weak to prevent Fermor, who had passed the Warthe near Landsberg, from spreading his forces over the new marche, and bombarding Custrin.

This fortress, two hundred years old, had no exterior work on that side; and the surrounding morasses were not wide enough to secure it from bombs. The Russian heavy artillery is excellent, and on this occasion they gave it a degree of activity truly frightful. The third bomb, thrown on the 15th of August, set fire to the whole town, which was soon reduced to ashes. The inhabitants had scarcely time to escape over the Oder, from whence they beheld
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their houses and property devoured by the flames in the space of a few hours. After this, the Russians commenced the siege in form. The usage of war in Europe authorizes the barbarous custom of reducing besieged towns to ashes; but this does not render the practice less odious to the unhappy victims. The Russians appeared only in the light of incendiaries to the inhabitants of Custrin; nor did their conduct strike these unfortunate people with less horror than that produced by the French at Halberstadt. But could not the Russians reply, that the Prussians had bombarded Prague and Olmutz; and certainly, if their bombs did not reduce those towns to ashes, the fault was not in those who directed them. But, in war, what action might not be deemed barbarous?

Great faults were committed in the defence of Custrin, and the king was greatly irritated against the governor. (93)

On the 6th of July, the king left his camp at Königsgratz, to march into Bohemia: he advanced without loss into Silesia, lined the frontiers, and in 15 days, with 14 battalions and 33 squadrons, completed a rout of 120 leagues. On the 20th of August he arrived near Custrin, drew to him the army of general Dohna, and, on the 23d, passed the Oder near Gistebuse, to attack the Russians. Their army still consisted of 60,000 men, notwithstanding some detachments; and the king's forces amounted to 50,000.

The fate of the king and of his states depended more than ever on the success of a single battle. His enemies

mies were in full march towards the heart of his electorate. Their design uniformly was to effect a junction, and to cut off his communication with the Elbe and Oder. Hitherto the king had been able to frustrate that project: but, at one and the same moment, Daun left Bohemia, to proceed to Dresden; the army of France and of the circles had been reinforced, and was advancing towards Saxony; the Swedes had marched without opposition from Stralsund, and in August were at but a few leagues distance from Berlin. This city was without fortifications, and without garrison. The Swedes had cannon, but were no longer led by a Gustavus Adolphus, (94) nor even by a Hadrik.

The king had urgent reasons to hasten a battle. The intelligence he received from every quarter of the ravages committed by the Russians, excited his indignation, and quickened his resolution. He endeavoured so to dispose the attack, as that the Russians, finding themselves between the Oder and the marshes, should be cut off from all possibility of retreat, and exterminated on the spot. He thought himself justified in dispensing with those indulgences towards this destructive people, which are generally accorded to the vanquished by the usages of war. The soldiers had orders to grant no quarter to a Russian, and all the bridges were to be burnt that might facilitate their retreat.

After forming this plan, the king quitted the banks of the Oder on the 24th of August, and took to the right, in order to turn the Russians, and attack them
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in rear and flank. The action took place in the morning of the 25th, near Zorndorf, two leagues from Custrin. Fermor, who had penetrated the king's design, had placed his army near that village, drawn up in squares, in order to form a front on every side. The king commenced his attack by battering the village of Zorndorf with the heavy cannon of his left wing, and with 2200 grenadiers. This Prussian brigade was repulsed, caused disorder, and broke the ranks in the wing. The enemy's cavalry did not lose the opportunity, and profited by this advantage. The Prussian cavalry saved the honour of the day. Seidlitz advances, overthrows the Russian cavalry, and falls with such impetuosity on the flank of their army, as to drive the whole right wing back in disorder. The Prussian infantry, having by these means gained both time and space to recover themselves, took the village and all the baggage it contained. It has been remarked, that the Cossacks, who kept hovering round the Prussian army, served to make the soldiers of that army, who were inclined to fly, return to their ranks, preferring the chance of perishing in battle with the enemy to the danger of falling into their hands. The Russians, once falling into confusion, were unable to recover : their right wing was not only beaten, but cut off from the left wing, and would willingly have quitted the field of battle, had not the bridges been broken down.

The Prussians renewed the attack, but the left wing of the Russians disputed the victory till night. It was reinforced by the dispersed troops from the right; and, joining the corps de reserve, took a strong position,

sition, which it maintained till the close of day, when the night interrupted the battle, wherein victory was not decided. (95) The two armies, considerably diminished, remained thus, under arms, opposite to each other, near the village of Zorndorf; and this position they kept until the next morning, merely exchanging a few cannon shot, during which partial attack a Russian ball struck the king's baggage waggon, near his tent.

Had this day terminated the war, it would have been difficult, from the relations of each party, to have determined on which side the victory inclined. The Prussians claimed it, because, when night came on, they occupied the ground on which the Russians had formed at the beginning of the engagement, and had taken from the enemy 103 cannon, 37 colours, 80 officers, and 3000 soldiers. Fermor, on his side, wrote to the empress of Russia from the field: "I lose no time in informing your majesty, that, after a most bloody engagement, which lasted ten hours, we remained masters of the field of battle, and have taken a great number of prisoners, of cannon and colours, from the enemy." *Te Deum* was sung at Petersburg and Berlin. On the evening of the battle, Fermor demanded a truce of general Dohna, to bury the dead and dress the wounded. Dohna replied, "As the king my master has gained the battle, he will not fail to have the dead interred, and the wounded taken care of."

But events left no room to doubt that the victory was on the side of the king. The Russians had lost

so many troops, that they could no longer venture to remain in this position to wait a fresh attack. On the 27th of August, they retreated near to Landsberg. The number of their killed, wounded, and prisoners, is calculated at 20,000 men. The Prussians lost 3400 on the field of battle, and 7000 prisoners or wounded. (96)

The king was astonished at the obstinate stand made by the Russian infantry. Their immoveable firmness, and the effect of some of their batteries, had repulsed, at the commencement of the battle, one of his brigades of grenadiers. We read in a Prussian account, "It is easier to kill the Russians than to put them to flight; they suffer themselves to be knocked on the head by the side of their cannon or their brandy bottle; a shot through their body is not enough to finish them." In fact, the distance between the Garonne and the Wolga is not so great, as the difference between the troops Frederick had to engage, in the space of six months, at Rosbach and at Zorndorf.

The Prussian cavalry had the most considerable share in the victory of Zorndorf. (97) The king could not pursue his conquest. He left count Dohna near Landsberg, with an army, to oppose the Russians, and hastened, with the troops he had received from Silesia, to enter Saxony, to counteract the designs of General Daun. This general had collected all his forces near Dresden, and was endeavouring with a superior army to repulse prince Henry, to deliver Dresden, and cut off the king's communication with the Elbe. Prince Henry acquired, in this

this position, the reputation of an able general. During the king's absence, by judicious evolutions and well chosen camps, he contrived to maintain himself in Saxony with inferior forces, on one side against the main Austrian army, and on the other against that of the circles; and he constantly conducted himself with so much address, that they could neither force him to a battle, nor compel him to recede. The king found him in the face of an army of 100,000 men, still master of Dresden, the Elbe, and the greatest part of the electorate of Saxony.

The junction of the two armies took place the 15th of September. Daun, who did not so soon expect the king's return, was still occupied with his projects against Dresden and prince Henry, when he saw him make his appearance near Stolpe, with the troops he had brought from Bohemia into the New Marche, and with which he had beaten the Russians. The Prussians performed this march in nine days. The king wished immediately to have given battle: it was important for him to remove the Austrians from Saxony, and to fly to the succour of Silesia. This province, which was ill protected, was in the greatest danger. Harsch, at the head of 20,000 men, was besieging the fortress of Neisse, and laying a great part of the country under contribution. But as soon as Daun saw the king opposite to him, he avoided an engagement, and posted himself so strongly near to Stolpe, that any kind of attack must have been considered as an act of temerity. In consequence, the king, on the 10th of November, bent his course to-

wards Lusatia, in his way to Silesia, still hoping to draw the Austrians out of their posts, and engage them. Daun accompanied the Prussians, but always took care so to station himself as to be able to retard their march, in order to gain time for the Austrians who were besieging Neisse; and he never exposed himself to a disadvantageous attack.

The Prussian army were not accustomed to dread an attack of the enemy, and to prevent a surprize by a judicious choice of camps and unremitting vigilance. The nocturnal *alertes* of the advanced posts were so frequent, that there was no longer any attention paid to them in the camp. A fatigued army, which for three months had been flying from province to province, without ever reposing eight days in one place, was very liable to such an indifference to danger. The king's situation was extremely irksome. In his letter to the lord marshal, he says, "*Alas! how willingly would I give half of that glory you talk of, for a little repose.*"

On the 14th of October, the two armies were thus posted in Lusatia, opposite to each other; the Austrians near Kittliz, and the Prussians near the village of Hochkirchen; the former in an advantageous position, the latter so as to apprehend an attack.

Daun knew that the Prussian camp was weak, and resolved to attack it during the night. The king was not ignorant of the danger of his position, and had wished to quit it on the 13th; but he was obliged to wait for a convoy of bread, with which he could not possibly dispense. "*If the Austrians leave*

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"*us in repose,*" said marshal Keith, "*they deserve to be hanged.*" "*Let us hope,*" replied the king, "*that they will be more afraid of us than of the gallows.*" The batteries, the abattis, and other preparations for defence, which Daun had ordered in the evening for his left wing, confirmed this opinion; and he had the appearance of thinking rather of a retreat than an attack. In fact, this wing *did* retire to some distance, but, making a circuit in a thick wood, had returned, without being perceived by the Prussians, to fall upon their right flank.

This march was executed with such secrecy and promptitude, that the Prussians did not perceive the danger until the moment the enemy made his appearance in their camp. It seems that the king's orders for the security of the camp had been ill executed. The Prussians had hardly time to fly to arms. Amidst the tumult, which was favoured by the obscurity of the night, some thousands of Prussians passed from sleep into the arms of death, and many were slain by their own comrades. At break of day the Austrians met with a vigorous resistance. The heat of the action fell especially on the right wing of the Prussians, towards the village of Hochkirchen, where it was very bloody on both sides. The Prussians here defended themselves for some hours, and took a general and several soldiers; but they lost marshal Keith and prince Francis of Brunswick, who were both killed upon the field of battle. The king was wounded, as well as most of his generals. The success of this engagement seemed to depend on the

village of Hochkirchen. Daun renewed the attack there eight times with different regiments. The king, pressed by numbers and weakened by a considerable loss, resolved, towards 10 o'clock, to retreat; and he left the enemy the field of battle, the greatest part of his camp and baggage, upwards of 100 pieces of cannon, and 30 pair of colours. The number of Prussians killed, wounded, and prisoners, is reckoned at 10,000.

This battle happened on the anniversary of St. Theresa, the birth day of the empress. The massacre of 20,000 men was a grateful offering to this princess. She thanked Daun for it; and the pope, Clement XIII. who was of opinion that the festival of a saint could not be more worthily celebrated, bestowed his benediction on the Austrian general, and in the name of *the church* sent him a hat and *consecrated sword*. (98)

Yet, such a reverse of fortune may be regarded as the instrument of drawing forth the great abilities of Frederick, in the prevention of the consequences which were likely to ensue. An army surprized in the middle of the night with so much advantage and success! An army beaten and dispersed! Who would not imagine that all the king's projects were overthrown! Who could suppose it possible for him to recover, at least during the course of the same campaign, from so terrible a check? His firmness was proof against every obstacle, and he overcame them by his intrepidity. He only retreated to Klein-Bautzen, one league from the field of battle, and took

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a position which deterred his conqueror from pursuing him; yet his army had scarcely any instrument of defence remaining but the sword and bayonet, and nothing to cover them from the inclemency of the weather but the short jacket of the soldier. The Austrians returned to their former position near Kittlitz. "*Daun no longer keeps us in check,*" said the king, the day after the battle; "*the game is not lost. We will repose ourselves here a few days, and then go into Silesia, to relieve Neisse.*" This actually happened.

The king ordered prince Henry to join him with some regiments, passed the Queis near Lauban, and on the 6th of November arrived in the vicinity of Munsterberg, six leagues from Neisse. The same day general Harsch raised the siege, and retreated into Moravia. But the campaign was not yet finished.

When the king left Saxony, general Daun's first movements seemed to manifest an intention of following him into Silesia, but from the 4th of November he had made four forced marches towards Dresden. His project was to surprize that city, and then join the army of the circles, entirely to deliver Saxony before the king could possibly oppose him. The body of Prussians which remained in Saxony, under general Itzenblitz, consisted only of 20,000 men. But they took so strong a position near Dresden, and count Schmettau, who commanded in the place, shewed so much resolution, that Daun renounced his project, and was obliged to let his army remain inactive. This irresolution was aided also by the

danger to which he apprehended he should expose the city, and the family of the elector, should he undertake the siege. At the approach of general Daun, Schmettau had set fire to one of the suburbs which would have facilitated the designs of the Austrians, and proved by that how little he would spare any thing, the sacrifice of which might contribute to his defence. He declared his resolution to defend himself from house to house, and even from the windows of the palace, as a proof of which he filled the apartments of it with soldiers. (99)

It was an act of prudence on the part of the Prussian to menace the enemy with every possible means of defence : it was humanity in the Austrian to suffer these menaces to have weight. The king of Prussia, however, after delivering Silesia, had taken the rout of Saxony on the 8th of November. It was of the last importance for him to remain master of that province and of the Elbe, and to preserve his winter quarters in the electorate. As soon as he arrived at Bautzen, in Lusatia, general Daun took the road of Bohemia, and the troops of the circles hurried back into Franconia. After the battle of Zorndorf, the Russians had retired into Pomerania, and, wishing to establish themselves in that province, had laid siege to Colberg with a body of 10,000 men. They hoped, by means of this place, which is situated on the Baltic, to facilitate the conveyance of provisions and ammunition for their army ; but major Heyden, the commandant, made so able a defence with a garrison of 700 soldiers and 20 artillery men, that he forced the

the Russians to retire, and in November their whole army had quitted Brandenburg and Pomerania.

The war against the *Swedes* was still reserved for the winter. As soon as the king had put his troops in safety, and into winter quarters, *they* were repulsed towards Stralsund, by a body of troops sent for the purpose, and could not hinder the Prussians from again wintering in Swedish Pomerania.

It would be difficult to find in history a campaign conducted with such infinite labour and address. The king's marches from Silesia into Moravia, from thence into the New Marche by Bohemia and Silesia, afterwards into Saxony, from Hochkirchen to Neisse, then to Dresden, form in the whole upwards of 280 German miles, 560 French leagues (1680 English miles). The king of Prussia had performed what Belleisle thought impossible, when he observed in his dispatches, "*The king of Prussia, let him do what he will, cannot make a shuttle of his army.*" By the siege of Olmutz, the king drew into Moravia the principal Austrian forces; and by marching to Custrin, he removed the Russians from the midst of his states, and from the vicinity of their allies. He reached Saxony soon enough to dissipate the projects of the Austrians and circles. In spite of his defeat at Hochkirchen, he arrived in Silesia in time to save Neisse and Cosel; and, finally, returned once more to Saxony, to relieve Dresden, and drive the enemy from the electorate.

To form a just conception of the astonishing promptitude of these marches, performed with a whole army, we must be acquainted with the multitude of
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wants which are perpetually assailing a regular army, and know the prodigious quantity of convoys that follow, or must be prepared, from day to day, at the different places through which the army is to pass. At the beginning of the year 1756, the king had discovered, and called into Silesia, a man who executed what the king himself deemed impossible, in this department. This was the baron de Schlabrendorf, minister of state and war for Silesia. To an enthusiasm for his master, this able minister united the most indefatigable activity. He had the art of foreseeing the turn affairs would take, and prepared provisions and magazines in consequence. Operations of this nature could not be effected without violence; and force frequently wrested that of which the refusal ought, otherwise, to have been considered as justifiable. But Frederick had acquired such a reputation in the minds of his subjects for equity and moderation, that the blame was always imputed to his ministers, as far as related to the severity of the means employed to carry his orders into execution.

At the end of November, the king of Prussia again found himself in possession of all his states, excepting Prussia, and master of Saxony, the Oder, and the Elbe. This campaign, in which he lost only 30,000 men, had cost 100,000 to the powers combined against him. From the relations of that day it appears, that the Austrians stood in need of at least 36,000 men to complete their army; the Russians, more than 32,000; the French, upwards of 36,000; and the Swedes and circles, of some thousands.

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The issue of this campaign enabled Frederick to complete his troops whilst in winter quarters, and to augment them with some free battalions. To spare his own provinces, he levied recruits in Saxony, in the countries of Anhalt and Mecklenbourg, in Swedish Pomerania, and even in a part of Poland; and as his soldiers were more exactly paid than those of the other powers, men were not wanting to enlist under his colours. He provided the army with every thing they might stand in need of, and filled his magazines, without drawing any revenue from the provinces which had been ravaged by the enemy. He laid no new imposts on his people, as in France, nor borrowed money from foreigners, like Austria and Russia. If he augmented his revenues, and the subsidies he received from England, by diminishing the value of the coin, the greatest part of his subjects suffered nothing from it. This alteration must be indifferent to the soldiers, and the numerous class of the people, who live by their daily labour.

Yet, the enemies of Frederick, measuring his faculties by the difficulty of their own resources, saw their hopes increase, from year to year, of exhausting and overwhelming him; fully persuaded that he would be sooner destitute of the means of defence, than they of forces to attack him. In consequence, their armies were completed, and fresh preparations made for another campaign. In 1759, fortune seemed to declare for the strongest, and to favour the designs of the armies of Austria, Russia, and the circles, which were collected in Saxony, and on the banks of the Oder.

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In the spring of that year, Frederick had marched against the principal body of Austrian forces in Lusatia, with the intention of preventing their junction with the Russians, and of forcing them to a battle before the latter should have gained the Oder, or the troops of the circles have reached the Elbe. In the month of May, prince Henry, with the same view, made an irruption into Bohemia and Franconia. He destroyed several magazines, laid Wirtzburg, and Bamberg under contribution, and killed some thousands of soldiers belonging to the army of the circles. But circumstances soon compelled him to return to Saxony.

A body of Prussian troops, commanded by general Dohna, had been sent into Poland, to retard the march of the Russians, who were advancing towards the Oder. The Poles were made to believe, that their country should remain free alike to the Prussians and the Russians, since, in virtue of the treaty of Wélau, agreed to in 1657, between the Great Elector and the republic, no passage was to be allowed through her territory to any enemy of the house of Brandenburg. To this it might be replied, that the Russians were friends and allies of the king of Poland, in quality of elector of Saxony, whose enemies the Prussians were; but the feebleness of the republic prevented her from answering. The Prussians exacted contributions as far as Posen, destroyed the Russian magazines, carried off from his estates prince Sulkowski, a Polish magnat, and led him prisoner to Glogau, with his guard, consisting of 200 men. His crime was, the suspicion
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of having levied these 200 men for the Russian army.

It is astonishing, in the middle of the eighteenth century, to find in Europe a state, with possessions more extensive than those of France or Germany, so destitute of forces, and every means of defence, as to lie exposed to the invasion of its provinces, whenever it shall please its neighbours to enter them, as into an abandoned country; and in which a single general, at the head of a few regiments, may maintain himself as long as he thinks proper, or until the general of some foreign power shall expel him. The Prussians, with 30,000 men, but without Frederick, could not resist an army of 80,000 Russians. In June, the latter got into motion, under the orders of field-marshal Soltikoff, in order to advance by Poland towards the Oder. Their project was to join a party of the Austrians, and then penetrate into Brandenburg.

The Prussians, fearing lest they should be cut off from Silesia and Saxony, hastened to regain the banks of the Oder before the Russians. On the 22d of July, they both arrived near the village of Kai, in Brandenburg, two leagues from the Oder; and the two armies were so near each other, that a battle was inevitable. On the same day, general Wedel, whom the king had sent to replace Dohna, (100) arrived at the army. Frederick was dissatisfied with Dohna, (to whom he attributed a want of resolution,) for having lost a favourable opportunity, during the late march, of attacking the Russians with advantage, near Méseriz, in Poland. The engagement took place on the morning

morning of the 23d of July. At day break, the Russians had marched, to continue their rout towards Crossen on the Oder. It was here they were to form a junction with a body of Austrians expected from Lusatia, under Laudohn. Wedel had orders to attack and beat the Russians, to prevent this junction. He neither knew the country, the enemy's strength, nor the state of his new army; yet there was not a moment to be lost. He attacked the Russians on their march, was beaten; and, after losing 6000 men in slain, wounded, and prisoners, thought himself very fortunate in not being cut off from the passage of the Oder.

Some days after; the Russians retreated on the right bank of that river, and in the beginning of August encamped near Frankfort on the Oder. There general Laudohn, who, in spite of the vigilance of the king and prince Henry, had traversed Lusatia, joined them with a body of 18,000 Austrians. In July Daun had entered Lusatia from Bohemia, and expedited his march towards Brandenbourg, to favour the projects of the Russians. The king accompanied him in Silesia, along the Bober, and, after the battle of Kai, made prince Henry advance towards Sagan, to intercept the communication between the Austrians and Russians. He put himself at the head of Wedel's army, which was reinforced by some regiments from Silesia, and lost no time in descending the left bank of the Oder, which river he passed the 2d of August, near Reitwein, below Frankfort, in order to give battle to the Russians. This happened the next day, and the event

event proved in how great a degree merely favourable circumstances may render an action decisive. For seven hours that the Prussian attack continued, there seemed no doubt of their gaining a complete victory: but, towards the evening, fortune declared for the Russians; they redoubled their resistance in their last entrenchments, drove the Prussians from all the strong holds of which they had taken possession, and remained masters of the field of battle. A short description of this day's engagement will explain the matter.

The Russian army, which, with the Austrian corps, again consisted of 80,000 men, was entrenched behind some heights, between the village of Kunersdorf and the Oder. Their right wing extended to that river; and on this side, on the mountain called *Judenberg*, was their fourth entrenchment, defended by abattis. The rear of the camp was covered by marshy thickets and steep heights; so that the Russians did not think it necessary to change their position, though they had the Prussians in their rear. On the 3d of August, at three in the morning, the king had left the village of Oetscher with his army, and, after making a large circuit by a wood, he began his attack, about noon, on the flank of the Russian left wing. This attack was made in columns, and with such effect, that the Russians were obliged to abandon their batteries, one after the other, and retreat into their last entrenchments on the hill of *Judenberg*. At six in the evening, the Prussians were, on this hill, masters of the three first entrenchments, and 100 cannon which they had taken from the enemy.

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It is probable, that, if the king had not renewed the attack with his troops, who were already fatigued, the Russians would have made a total retreat; and the rather as they had suffered a very considerable loss. But, Frederick did not wish to quit his hold; and he was confirmed in his hopes of success by the expectation of seeing their other wing attacked by a body of troops from Frankfort, under general Wunsch. Such was the concerted plan. In consequence, Jüdenberg was again attacked. The king exposed his person to the greatest dangers, and had two horses killed under him. But after fifteen hours march and combat, fortune and force abandoned his troops. Fifty pieces of cannon ranged along the mountain, and the fire of the musketry, swept off a number of Prussians; and the slaughter was proportionably great with the obligation which they were under of pressing upon each other, for want of space to extend themselves. Nor was the cavalry more fortunate. During an unsuccessful attempt which they made upon the heights, Seidlitz was wounded. The fire of the musketry broke their ranks, and horse and foot were all mingled together, and in disorder. Laudohn took advantage of this moment to decide the battle. He advanced with his troops, which were still fresh, behind the right wing, fell upon the fatigued and disordered Prussians in flank and rear, obliged them to retire, and remained master of the field. In the space of one hour they lost the batteries they had taken, and more than an hundred of their own cannon. General Wunsch had, indeed, reached

reached Frankfort towards the end of the battle, and taken the Russian garrison prisoners; but it was too late to return. At this town the news of the defeat reached him, and he was glad to make his retreat.

The king took post near the village of Oetscher, at two leagues distance from the field of battle, on the same spot where he had passed the preceding night. The following passage occurs in a letter written on the day immediately subsequent to the battle: "He had not more than 5000 men with him; the regiments seemed no more than companies. The next morning, I saw the king, in the midst of this small troop, stretched on a little straw, in the ruins of a peasant's house, sleeping as quietly as if he had not the smallest danger to apprehend. His face was half covered by his hat, his naked sword by his side, and at his feet lay two adjutants snoring on the ground. One grenadier mounted guard before the house. This monarch seems to have sleep and repose, as well as presence of mind, at his disposal. No sooner is he out of the reach of arms, than the sentiment of his superiority, and confidence in his good fortune, reassume their influence; he no longer beholds any danger, and abandons himself to rest, as if the enemy were at twenty leagues distance."

The same day his army repassed the Oder near Reitwein, but diminished one half, and carrying with it above 12,000 wounded. (101) The loss of the Russians was not less considerable. "*If I gain another victory like this,*" observed Soltikoff, "*I shall*

"return alone, with the general's staff in my hand, to carry the news of it to Petersburgh."

After two successive victories, this general thought he had done enough for the common cause against the king of Prussia; and positively declared, that he should consider himself justified, were he to avoid, throughout the remainder of the campaign, the least exposure of his enfeebled army. This conduct robbed the king's enemies of all the fruits of the victory; for it is no less extraordinary than true, that these memorable actions produced scarcely any alteration in the king's political situation, nor any revolution in his affairs. Frederick appeared more formidable than ever to his enemies, yet he never had been in a more dangerous position. He was cut off from Saxony and Silesia, and was deprived of all succour from those provinces. The army of the circles was now in the former, which prince Henry had quitted, in order to repair to Silesia. Daun was in Lower Lusatia, with the main body of the Austrians, and had had an interview with general Soltikoff at Guben. No circumstance could hinder his junction with the Russian army. Each of these armies, separately, was stronger than that which Frederick could oppose to both. Was it not natural, then, to expect to see one combined army fall on Berlin, and another disperse itself over Silesia? Could they not have delivered Saxony, besieged Magdebourg, and reduced the king to the very last extremity?

Yet, not a single event of this nature happened. The genius of Frederick seems to have informed him, the day after the battle of Kunersdorf, that none

of these disasters were to be apprehended. A few days before that battle, prince Ferdinand had sent an officer to announce to him the victory he had gained on the 1st of August at Minden. Frederick ordered this officer to wait until he could answer the duke by a compliment of the same nature. The day after the battle, Frederick, seeing this officer, said to him, "*I am sorry not to have it in my power to send the duke better news; but if, in your way, you do not find Daun at Berlin, and Contades at Magdebourg, assure the duke from me that all is not lost.*"

The Russians, indeed, had passed the Oder, after being reinforced by 19,000 Austrians, under Had-dick; but their tardiness and divisions afforded the king time to take a position that covered Berlin. He drew from that city the artillery and ammunition necessary for his army, and formed with his feeble regiments a chain which he opposed to the Russians, shewing such an intrepid firmness as repressed the inclination of the enemy to attack him upon that side. They retired towards Lusatia, to within a few leagues of the Austrian main army. This circumstance, however, did not prevent the king from following them step by step; and he detached, even in their fight, a part of his feeble army into Saxony, under general Wunsch. At the same time, prince Henry, who by skilful evolutions had succeeded in thwarting all the projects of Daun, entered Lusatia, and thus drew off the main body of the Austrians from the Russian army, by compelling them to take their station on the frontiers of Saxony and Bohemia.

In September, Lusatia experienced the obligation

of providing subsistence for no less than four armies. The Russians first felt the want of provisions. The court of Vienna offered them money to procure what was necessary : but Soltikoff replied, "*My soldiers do not eat money;*" and directed his march towards Poland, by Silesia, to approach his magazines. Laudohn accompanied him with the new reinforcements, and endeavoured to prevail on him to undertake the siege of Glogau, and to divert him from repassing the Oder; but the king's alacrity overturned all these projects.

The combined army of Russians and Austrians, arriving on the banks of the Oder the 24th of September, were on the point of descending that river on this side as far as Glogau, for which purpose a camp was traced out near Beuten on the Oder. But, what was the astonishment of their van-guard, when, on approaching the spot, they found the Prussians, who they imagined had barely entered Silesia, in possession of this camp! Soltikoff and Laudohn, after reconnoitring the position, durst not attack the king, but, on the 28th of September, passed the Oder below Beuten. They continued their march on that side the river, and seemed to menace Breslaw with an attack; but they found Prussians every where on their road, and all the passages so well guarded, as to leave them no further hope of procuring themselves a tenable place, nor even winter quarters, in this province. The last attempt they made to approach Breslaw was near Hernstadt. This town had been, for some time, occupied by the Prussians. Soltikoff threatened to reduce it to ashes, if the garrison refused to surrender. The
Prussian

Prussian officer replied, that his orders were to defend the place, even should the Russians, according to custom, conduct themselves like incendiaries. This answer enraged the general, and the town was abandoned to the flames.

From hence the combined army turned towards Poland. At the end of November, there remained neither Russians nor Austrians in Brandenburg or Silesia, but they left the traces of their devastations smoking on all sides, in the towns and over the country. The inhabitants of twelve villages reduced to ashes, were obliged to abandon their homes. We shudder with horror on reading the narrative of the ravages and devastations committed by the Russians during the whole course of this campaign in Brandenburg and Silesia. (102) Their discipline has been admired in some towns, but these were regular troops, disciplined by Peter the First. The country, on the contrary, was abandoned to the barbarous soldiery of that empire. The Cossacks, the Calmucks, the Baskirian Tartars, are strangers to every species of war, but that of pillage, destruction, and conflagration. They know no difference between the armed soldier and the peaceful citizen. All the inhabitants of an enemy's country, whose property, persons, and lives, rest at their mercy, are, in *their* opinion, declared adversaries. Their countenance is frightful, their inclinations ferocious; their stomachs digest raw flesh and unripe fruits. They know no other habitation but their horses backs, no bed but the bare ground, no other roof except the skies. Their weapons are the bow and arrow,

the sabre, and the lance. They pursue with fury young girls and women; nor do the wrinkles of age protect the female sex against their brutal desires.

These barbarians were regarded in Brandenbourg as monsters and cannibals. Terror preceded their footsteps. The villagers took refuge in the country, and the villages they had abandoned were delivered to pillage and the flames.

The devastations and ravages of the Russians through the whole country soon dried up the sources from whence they might have procured forage and provisions, had they not been strangers to the utility of discipline and humanity. Famine compelled them to abandon all their advantages, and approach their magazines in Poland. There is reason to believe, that these barbarous disorders will no longer be permitted among the Russian troops. The Cossacks and Calmucks begin to accustom themselves to discipline, and have been taught to feel some sentiments of attachment, humanity, and gratitude. Let us add then, that if these savage proceedings still continue to dishonour the Russian name, the fault will lie in their generals, who neglect to avail themselves of the means within their power either to prevent or punish such horrible enormities.

These cruelties occasioned reprisals. There is no species of atrocity, of which contending armies are not capable, when they are judges in their own cause. In this state there no longer subsists any difference between a polished and a barbarous people. In the baggage of general Contades, taken in Westphalia, a let-

ter

ter of old marshal Belleisle was found, wherein he says, *We must make a desert before the army.* The French ambassador at Vienna wrote to the marquis de Montalembert, after the battle of Kunersdorf, "*The king of Prussia must be completely destroyed: you must employ all your credit with the Russian army, to engage it to pass the Oder: you must holdout to the Russians the prospect of the plunder of Berlin, and of all the marche of Brandenburg.*" It is thus the Calmucks would have written, had they known how to write!

Laudohn separated from the Russians in Poland, and marched towards Upper Silesia. Frederick left some troops in Silesia, to observe the motions of this corps, and led his army into Saxony. At this time the Prussians occupied the whole electorate, except Dresden, and some other towns. The army of the circles, reinforced by several Austrian regiments, had penetrated in the month of August to the banks of the Elbe, under prince Frederick of Deux-Ponts. The Prussian garrisons, finding themselves too weak, had been obliged to abandon Leipzig, Wittenberg, and Torgau. General Wunsch, who was sent into Saxony after the battle of Kunersdorf, retook these places without much difficulty. But, he arrived a few days too late to prevent the reduction of Dresden. Count Schmettau, who commanded there, seeing it invested, and hearing nothing of the king's army, capitulated the 4th of September, without waiting for a formal siege. This general, who the year before had displayed such courage and resolution, covered himself by this action with indelible disgrace. The king declared him in-

capable of serving any longer; and this was all his punishment.

The troops of the circles were now masters of Dresden, and endeavoured to maintain themselves in this country. In October prince Henry approached the Elbe. This march is greatly admired by military connoisseurs. The prince, to avoid Daun, who probably might have invested him near Landskron, was obliged to make a circuit. This project he executed during the night, with such prudence and celerity, that, on the 25th of September, he surprized a body of Austrians near Hoyerwerda, took general Vela, who commanded it, with 30 officers and 1500 soldiers, and reached Saxony before Daun knew that he had marched on that side; for, imagining that the Prussians would turn towards Silesia, he lost two days march by following them in that direction.

He could not prevent the prince from passing the Elbe near Torgau, and forming a junction with general Wunsch. Daun now hastened his march towards Saxony, to cover Dresden. He crossed the Elbe, and, in concert with the army of the circles, strove to make himself master of that river. Henry defeated a corps of Austrians sent for that effect under general d'Aremberg, and kept his position near Torgau. (103)

Such was the state of affairs at the beginning of November, when the king arrived in Saxony from Silesia, with 20 battalions and 30 squadrons, and joined prince Henry. On meeting his brother, he said, "*Henry is the only general who has not committed a fault in this war.*" The seat of war was remote from the king's

king's states. The Russians were in Poland, and the Austrians limited to a small district of Saxony, between Dresden and Bohemia. The king resolved to dispute with them this district also, and advanced towards Dresden with his army. Previous to any enterprize against this place it was first necessary to force the army that covered it, to retreat. Daun, posted under the cannon of the town, was out of danger of an attack. The king tried another method, therefore, to draw him from his position. He detached general Finck with a considerable corps round the enemy's army, to occupy the posts in the mountains of Maxen. His project was to intercept the provisions for the Austrians and Dresden coming from the side of Bohemia; or, at least, to put the former in motion, by the appearance of this enterprize. The execution of this project would have been dangerous for Daun, and he instantly exerted himself to prevent it, which occasioned one of the most celebrated events of this war. On the 12th of November, a Prussian army, composed of 9 generals, 500 officers, and 12,000 soldiers, (104) laid down their arms near Maxen, and were made prisoners of war by the Austrians.

It is certain that the Austrians had the advantage of numbers, of the heights, and of the support of their main army. Daun himself commanded the attack. The Prussians were in the vallies, all the passages from which were occupied by the Austrians. On the 20th, the whole of their powder was expended, nor had they reason to expect the least assistance; but all these circumstances do not justify the Prussian general, or

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vindicate him from a want of prudence and resolution. On his return, he was broken, with some other generals who had voted for the capitulation. The infantry regiments which were taken, lost the honour they before enjoyed, of beating the grenadiers march.

Daun sent to Vienna 114 pair of Prussian colours, and a great number of kettle-drums and trumpets, which were carried in triumph to the castle. The Austrians deemed this action a fair equivalent for the capture of the Saxon army near Pirna. Some time after, general Beck took another body of Prussians near Meissen, composed of 1500 men, with a general and 60 officers, the artillery, baggage, &c. (105) Yet these events produced no remarkable change in the situation of the main armies. It seemed as if fortune wished to shew how much Frederick could lose without ceasing to be formidable. He maintained himself in his position near Dresden; insomuch that Daun, who could not shake off the Prussians, was obliged, in order to cover the city, to remain constantly at the gates.

The two armies continued the campaign amidst the severest cold, and changed their tents into straw huts. Nations seemed to have changed their nature. In the month of January, the French and Germans were still in the field, whilst the Swedes and Russians had gone into winter quarters in October. The king underwent, with his army, every inconveniency attending this situation. He lived in his head quarters at Freiberg with as much simplicity as in camp, and with much more frugality and mediocrity than even
the

the most inferior general in rank of any other army. His sole recreation consisted in the conversation of men of letters, reading, and music. (106)

The issue of this campaign seemed not ill to correspond with the views of the different powers, and the hopes of his enemies; yet they still thought they had done either too much, or too little, against the king of Prussia, to stop when circumstances were in so fair a train. They resolved, therefore, to continue the war; and were confirmed in this resolution, on discovering a disposition for peace in England, as well as in the king of Prussia. These two courts had declared their disposition to the envoys of the belligerent powers at the Hague. Stanislaus, on whom fortune seems only to have bestowed the crown of Poland twice, to render him more unfortunate by twice depriving him of it, offered the town of Nancy, where he resided, to commence the negotiations. (107) The States General proposed Breda. But all these pains were fruitless. The hostile powers deferred declaring themselves so long, their answers were so vague, that it was not difficult to perceive that they conceived but inconsiderable hopes of an immediately advantageous peace. They could not yet flatter themselves that the king of Prussia, and his allies, would submit to the conditions it was their object to impose, and they made no doubt of soon being in a situation to dictate as conquerors. They were unwilling to have sacrificed in vain, in the course of three years, a million of soldiers, and immense sums. In consequence, preparations were made with ardour for a fresh campaign.

Three

Three women then presided over these resolutions, Maria-Theresa, Elizabeth, and the marchioness of Pompadour; and these three women decided that Europe should be again abandoned to carnage and desolation. Had they but been witnesses to the horrors of a single battle; had they perceived whole heaps of dead and dying, rivers of blood, and limbs quivering in the agonies of death, would they not have shuddered at their own projects? Men of observation are to be found of a different opinion. Women, who are naturally fond of every thing that forcibly excites their passions, do not always turn their eyes from the most tragical and most barbarous scenes. The ladies of Bologna go in dominos, during the carnival, to assist at anatomical dissections; those of Lisbon have great enjoyment in seeing heretics suffering in the flames; and the most elegant Parisian dames did not scruple to pay 10 or 12 louis d'or for the pleasure of seeing the unhappy Damiens torn to pieces.

It is certain, however, that the personal hatred of the ministers of these powers against the king of Prussia, contributed not a little to the obstinacy of his enemies. Kaunitz, Choiseul, and Bruhl, conceived that they had reason to hate Frederick, and availed themselves of their ascendancy over the minds of their sovereigns to gratify their private malice. (108) Thus it may be with truth asserted, that rancour had more influence than policy in the continuation of this war; and thousands of men were massacred, and whole provinces laid waste, to give these three individuals the opportunity of vengeance!

It

It was a great advantage for the king of Prussia to have it still in his power to treat Saxony as an hostile country. The enemy, although in possession of Dresden, could not prevent the king from drawing out of Saxony and Thuringia resources for carrying on the war. The contributions Frederick levied in Saxony in 1760, amounted to upwards of two millions of crowns in money, (the third of a million sterling,) 10,000 recruits, some hundred thousand bushels of corn, several thousand horses, oxen, sheep, &c. The finest forests were cut down and sold, and the elector's farmers were obliged to pay a year's revenue in advance. Leipzig was accused of treating other troops better than those of the king, and, under this idle pretext, was fined eight tons of gold. The captain, who was employed to exact this money, shut up the counsellors and rich merchants of the town in the citadel, where they were left without bed, fire, or candle, until they paid it; and they were compelled to make him a present of 1000 crowns, in gratitude for his mild proceedings. But humanity and justice are out of the question when our own preservation is in danger; and such was the present situation of the king.

Another method of obtaining money was resorted to, by falsifying the coin; and this was carried so far, that eight crowns in specie had barely the intrinsic value of a ducat. (109) By these means, and the English subsidies, Frederick, in a few months, succeeded in completing his army, and in preparing for another campaign. At this period, his troops were estimated at 129 battalions and 105 squadrons. The Prussian
army

army was no longer composed of exercised soldiers, as at the beginning of the war. The king's troops had been not a little diminished in the preceding campaign, and he had a great number of young men unaccustomed to carry arms. They did their duty, however, under the auspices of Frederick, united with the exemplary encouragement of the remaining veterans.

Since the commencement of the war, the Prussians had lost upwards of 40 generals, killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. In the constitution of the Prussian army, this loss is more difficult to repair than in any other, because the officers are all obliged to be formed successively in every rank, before they can arrive at that of general.

Relations of that period, which originated with the enemies of the king, do not make his whole forces, at the beginning of 1760, exceed 80,000 men; and this small army had to defend itself against 100,000 Austrians, 80,000 Russians, 20,000 soldiers of the circles, and 20,000 Swedes; in all, 220,000 men. Besides these, 100,000 French, under the duke de Broglie, were not only to make themselves masters of Hanover, but to penetrate into Brandenburg.

It was probable that so considerable a superiority of forces would oblige the king either to divide his army, or, if he wished to keep it together, to abandon either Saxony or Silesia to the enemy. The following is the plan formed by the courts of Vienna and Petersburg for this new campaign. The Russians were to enter Silesia, and there join a considerable body of Austrians,
directed

directed to come from Bohemia with a train of artillery, in order to render themselves masters of the Oder, by the capture of Breslaw or of Glogau. It was imagined that Daun, with his army and the troops of the circles, would find sufficient employment for the king in Saxony, and prevent him from marching into Silesia against the Russians, or from detaching thither any part of his forces.

In the month of May, the armies destined against Saxony and Silesia began to get into motion. Laudohn commenced in Silesia the execution of his plan, and succeeded. This general, at the head of a considerable corps, formed the right wing of the Austrian main army, whose winter quarters extended along the frontiers from Bohemia to Troppau. He detached himself from it in the beginning of May, and traversed Bohemia to get into Lower Silesia, and on the 23d of June totally defeated La Motte Fouquet, the Prussian general, in his entrenched camp near Landshout. This camp is represented as a fortress, and the attack as an assault. Laudohn, after clearing some entrenchments, summoned the general to surrender with his corps. Fouquet, who had not forgot the affair of Maxen, refused the summons, and defended himself from hill to hill, until he was at length made prisoner with some other generals and 5000 soldiers. (110) It is certain that the enemy were near three times as numerous as the Prussians. Laudohn commanded 30,000 men, and Fouquet had but 13,000. This circumstance, however, does not diminish the glory of the conqueror; but what covers him with indelible disgrace,

disgrace, is the abandoning the town of Landshout, after the battle, to the plunder and brutality of the soldiers. The discipline of an army must either be very lax, if such disorders cannot be prevented, or the general himself extremely barbarous, if he suffers them to be introduced as the rewards of courage.

The first fruit of this victory was the conquest of Glatz. Laudohn met with but little resistance in these countries. The king was yet in Saxony; and prince Henry, with his army, on the Oder and the Warta, watching the motions of the Russians. Glatz had only a weak garrison of 2400 men, who made as feeble a defence. Laudohn received heavy cannon from Olmutz, and Griboval directed the siege. The trenches were opened the 20th of July, and on the 26th 16 batteries played upon the fortress. The besieged instantly abandoned a *flèche*, of which the Croats took possession, and threw themselves by crowds into the fortification. The garrison, composed in great measure of foreigners and refugees, mutinied: whole companies laid down their arms, and went over to the enemy; and in a few hours the fortress and garrison fell, without capitulation, into the hands of the Austrians. D'O, the Prussian commandant, might have excused himself to the king, by the wretched garrison he commanded; but he thought it safer not to return to the Prussian service, and remained with the Austrians.

The Russians, who, in the commencement, seemed inclined to enter Pomerania or the New Marche, had turned suddenly from Posen against Silesia, in order to join Laudohn near Breslaw. This general, to facilitate the

the junction, had advanced from Glatz towards Breslaw, which town he attempted to surprize. On the 30th of July, he summoned it to surrender, alledging, " That Breslaw not being a fortress, it would prove " contrary to the usages of war to defend it; that the " king was beyond the Elbe, and prince Henry on the " Warta; that the Russians would appear in two days " with 75,000 men, and that he imagined the town " would rather receive Austrians than Russians; that " he would leave the terms of capitulation to the gar- " rison, but that, if they refused to surrender, 45 mor- " tars were ready to set the town in flames." General Tauenzin, the governor, replied, " That Breslaw was " a fortress, and that, should even all the houses be " reduced to ashes, he would wait for the enemy on " the ramparts." The firing immediately began. Some public edifices, and, amongst others, the king's house, an indifferent building situated near the convent of the capuchins, were burnt. (III) But, the sudden appearance of prince Henry, who arrived on the 4th of August at Neumarkt, four miles from Breslaw, made Laudohn raise the siege, and prevented the junction of the Austrians and Russians. Laudohn fell back on Schweidnitz, and Soltikoff, who had reached Hundsfield on the other side of the Oder, a mile's distance from Breslaw, did not think proper to pass the river, and risk an action with prince Henry.

It may truly be asserted, that the presence of this prince with 30,000 men against 70,000 Russians and 30,000 Austrians, decided the success of this campaign in favour of the king. The plan of the enemy was

disconcerted. But it is likewise evident, that the Russian general acted with a precaution by no means calculated to give it success. He thought of nothing but sparing his army, and was apprehensive of being called upon to answer for any miscarriage. (112)

Reciprocal diffidence and mutual jealousy between generals of allied troops, charged with the execution of a common enterprize, are evils almost inevitable, and which generally destroy all the advantages of superiority. The good understanding which prevailed between Eugene and Marlborough stands, perhaps, a single exception upon record. The circumspection of the Russian unquestionably originated rather in his own ideas than in the orders of the empress; but the general of an army of 70,000 men at 500 leagues distance from his court, is, in fact, independent. There was no possibility of dispatching couriers, and waiting for orders, to direct his daily movements.

Such was the position of the armies in Silesia, when the king resolved to march to the relief of that province. In the month of July he had undertaken the siege of Dresden, which he was obliged to raise without success. (113) But, the movements which preceded this siege, and which tended either to bring the Austrians to an engagement, or to remove them from before Dresden, are truly astonishing, and merit a relation. In the middle of June, the king passed the Elbe below Dresden, and Daun had not ventured to obstruct him, for fear of bringing on an action in the open field. But, at the commencement of July, the king turning towards Lusatia, and having reached the neighbour-

hood

hood of Bautzen the 6th, the Austrians followed him with rapid marches, feeling the importance of preserving their communication with Laudohn and the Russians, and of preventing the junction of the king with prince Henry: and, in fact, this junction seemed to be the object of the Prussians in their present march; Daun, therefore, imagined he had deranged their project. On the 8th of July, he had already gotten beyond the river Queis, near to Ottendorf, in Silesia, and the king was yet in Lusatia. Daun had, consequently, the start of him by two days march. But he soon found that he had given this advantage to Frederick, who suddenly directed his course from Lusatia towards the Elbe, and, on the 12th of July, sat down before Dresden. The army of the circles made a quick retreat. The town was summoned. General Maquire, who commanded the garrison, resolved to defend himself, and the place was cannonaded by the artillery brought from Magdebourg by the Elbe. The besiegers destroyed the edifices in the suburbs, reduced some fine churches, and upwards of 260 houses, to ashes. This conflagration only served to encrease the misfortune of the inhabitants. On the 20th of July, Daun again appeared near Dresden, on which the king raised the siege, and entered Silesia a third time, under the eyes of the Austrian army, after passing the Elbe, the Sprée, and the Bober. Notwithstanding all the bridges were broken down, he performed, in five days, with his troops and 2000 waggons, a march of 40 leagues, and arrived on the 7th of August near Bunzlau, in Silesia.

About the same time, Daun had advanced to Laudan, in Silesia, and, having joined the corps under Laudohn, he made every effort with the whole body of the Austrian forces to prevent the king from reaching Breslaw, and forming a junction with prince Henry. Silesia now beheld upon her territory almost the whole military forces of Austria, Russia, and Prussia: 70,000 Prussians were in sight of 100,000 Austrians and 75,000 Russians. Daun so directed his movements as to enable him, at any time, to impede the king from marching, without exposing himself to an attack. The two armies advanced by the side of each other for some days, being separated only by the Katzbach, a rivulet, the course of which was rather rapid. On the 14th of August, the king arrived near Lignitz, and Daun opposite to him, near Walstadt, a convent situated in the country celebrated for a great battle in 1241 between the Christians and the Tartars.

The Russians, who were still beyond the Oder, at some miles distance from Breslaw, were by no means satisfied with this parallel march of the Austrians. They imagined, that, as they had not prevented the king from passing the Elbe, the Sprée, and the Bober, so they could not interrupt his progress across the Oder, near Steinau; and that he would make a subsequent attack against them, after his junction with prince Henry. "*It will only cost the king,*" said general Soltikoff, "*one of his forced marches and ordinary stratagems.*" This general had expressly declared, that, the instant they suffered the king to pass the Oder, he would

would retire into Poland. Daun saw himself, therefore, obliged to risk a battle, that he might stop the king. He resolved to attack the king's camp near Lignitz in the morning of the 15th of August, 1760. Daun was to attack the front, Lascei the right wing, and Laudohn the left. Laudohn, who was obliged to make a circuit, descended the Katzbach during the night, passed that rivulet near Parchwitz, and then turned on Lignitz, with the design of falling at day-break on the left wing of the Prussians. Frederick saved him a part of his march. At sun-rise he saw the Prussian army in order of battle, where he did not expect to meet them. (114 and 115) The king was apprized of every circumstance, and had descended a league down the rivulet. His right wing was watching Daun's motions, whilst the left was engaged with Laudohn.

At the beginning, Laudohn had taken possession of some heights, but when he perceived the Prussian army opposite to him, and could discover no Austrian troops on the other side, he said to his soldiers: "My brave friends and companions, I see that we are left to ourselves; we have no resource but in our courage; follow me!" He exposed himself to the greatest danger, and was obliged to force his way through the battle, sword in hand; and, after losing 9000 men, 82 cannon, and 23 standards, by his retreat he saved his honour, and that of his troops. Laudohn experienced no difficulty in justifying himself, under this point of view, at least, bearing no resemblance to Daun and Lascei, who, terrified at the new

position of the Prussians, did not venture to attack them. (1116)

The king pushed his victory no farther, that he might keep his troops collected against Daun and Laschi. But these two generals did not think proper to disturb him, and Czernicheff, the Russian general, who, the evening before, had passed the Oder with 20,000 men to join the Austrians, made a hasty retreat over that river. Laudohn regained the grand army with the shattered remains of his troops, and the Prussians retired without any obstacle towards Breslaw by Parchwitz.

Soltikoff passed the Bartsch to get to a distance from the Oder, and Frederick, after drawing to him the greatest part of prince Henry's army, turned towards Schweidnitz, to which place Daun was now preparing to lay siege. But seeing himself anticipated by the king, and fearing to be cut off from Bohemia, he drew nearer to the mountains.

The two armies spent the whole month of September in this country, in making masterly evolutions, the object of which was to gain the advantage of position, in case of a battle; but both parties acting with equal prudence, nothing remarkable occurred.

Yet Werner, the Prussian general of hussars, executed an enterprize, which was perfectly well characterized afterwards, on a medal, by this legend, taken from Ovid, *Res similis fictæ*. The Russians, with a fleet of 27 ships and an army of 15,000 men, had laid siege to the little fortress of Colberg, in Pomerania, on the Baltic sea. Colonel Heiden, who commanded the place,

place, was not intimidated, though he had but a small garrison; and Werner was sent from Silesia to his succour. In 12 days he marched 40 German miles, (240 miles English,) with his regiment of hussars and some battalions of infantry, arrived the 18th of September near Colberg, fell instantly sword in hand on the besiegers, and by this unforeseen attack spread such terror amongst them, as to make them precipitately raise the siege. The Russians lost no time in retreating, and in a few days there remained neither fleet nor troops. (117)

The issue of this campaign, however, did not ill correspond with the designs of the allied powers. Each of them thought their army in danger, until they had completely destroyed the forces of Frederick. To attain this object, an enterprize was projected against Berlin. Czernicheff was entrusted with its execution, having under his command 20,000 Russians, and Soltikoff consented to pass the Oder, to cover him in his progress on the side of the Marche. At the same time, 14,000 Austrians traversed Lusatia under general Laschi, to join the Russians near Berlin. Tottleben, a Russian general, was employed in this expedition, having been formerly in the service of Prussia, and knowing perfectly the country. He hastened his march with an advanced guard of some regiments, and, on the 3d of October, six days after his departure from Beuten on the Oder, arrived before the gates of Berlin.

This extensive and open city was only guarded by a few garrison battalions; but succour was expected,

and the city refused to surrender. Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg returned from Sweden to Berlin with 5000 Prussians, and general Hulsén, who was unable to make head in Saxony against the army of the circles, hastened thither from Wittenberg with 28 battalions. The former arrived near Berlin on the 4th, the latter on the 8th of October.

Tottleben was at first obliged to retire with some loss, and could not enter the town before the 9th, after the arrival of Czernicheff and Laschi, and until the Prussian army, contrary to all expectation, had retreated during the night to Spandau. Had these troops possessed either the ability or the courage to defend themselves only for a few days before the gates of Berlin, the project would probably have failed: for, the king left Silesia on the 6th; and the rumour of his march had made such an impression on the enemy, that on the 8th they determined to retreat, under the apprehension of being cut off from their main army. But, unhappily for Berlin, the marquis de Montalembert, who was with the combined army, was admitted to the council of war. He represented so pointedly the disgrace of retiring, without so much as making an attempt, from before a town comparatively without defence, that an attack was finally decided on. (118.)

Tottleben placed a garrison in Berlin in the name of the empress of Russia. He exacted a million and a half of crowns, and with that money paid his ancient private debts in that city. The Austrians took possession of one of the gates, and entered Berlin much against his wishes. The inhabitants of Berlin have

not

not yet forgotten the excellent discipline observed by the Russians on this occasion, nor the exemplary conduct of Bachmann, a Russian brigadier, who was made commandant of the city. He refused a present of 10,000 crowns, offered him by the town council, as a token of gratitude for his moderation. "*If the city,*" observed this officer, *is of opinion, that our discipline has alleviated her misfortune, it is to the express orders of our empress she owes that obligation. As for me, I am amply repaid by the honour of being for three days commandant of Berlin.*"

Such examples of generosity became more rare, from year to year, in the course of this long war. Men are more inclined, than may at first sight appear, to fall back into barbarism; and a few years war would suffice to weaken amongst nations, if not wholly to destroy, every sentiment of generosity, equity, and compassion. These warriors soon became obdurate and insensible. When the enemy retired, such traces of destruction were left in some of the royal houses in the environs of Berlin, as would have marked the footsteps of the ancient Goths. Without any advantage to themselves, they had destroyed all the works of taste and art which it was possible to deface in the course of three days. The friends of the fine arts cannot refrain from shedding a tear over this ferocity, on beholding, in the palace of Charlottenbourg, the beautiful statues of the collection of cardinal de Polignac mutilated by these barbarians. (119) All these shocking excesses are attributed to count Brühl, who ordered them to be perpetrated by the Saxon

Saxon troops in the Austrian army. He considered these ravages as just reprisals for the pillage and disorders committed by the Prussians on his estates. If these reprisals could be established as a right, it would be no less dangerous to give room for them, than to exert them. Brühl did not reflect that the king was at this moment on his way to Saxony. In truth, it appeared difficult for Frederick to make himself once more master of that Electorate. Daun never lost sight of him; the Russians, with a numerous army, were in the middle of his states; and the Swedes were advancing on the other side. The troops of the circles, reinforced by some Austrian regiments, had driven from Saxony the feeble corps of Prussians commanded by general Hulsén, and were in possession of the river Elbe, and all the strong places. Laudohn remained in Silesia with the body of troops under his command.

On the 11th of October, Frederick passed the Bober near Sprottau. On the sight of him, the Russians retired behind the Oder, towards the New Marche. Czernicheff and Tottleben had left Berlin to join them, and marched 12 German, or 74 English miles, in two days. Lasci hastened to join Daun's army in Saxony, which continued to accompany that of the Prussians. Towards the end of October they passed the Elbe at the same time, the former near Torgau, the latter near to Dessau. The troops of the circles on this occasion quitted Wittenberg and Leipzig, and disappeared. Into the hands of what power the possession of Saxony and the winter quarters

was

was destined to fall, a battle only could determine. On the 3d of November, the king attacked the Austrians, in their camp near Torgau, with 65 battalions and 125 squadrons, and wrested from them a victory, of which Daun thought himself so sure, that, at six in the evening, he dispatched a courier with the news of it to Vienna.

They who are acquainted with the advantages of the enemy's camp, and the position of Daun, must always speak with admiration of this victory: and, indeed, on examining the order of the attack, it is impossible to withhold the same tribute to the firmness and courage of the defence. The left wing of the Austrians was supported by the Elbe, near Torgau: in their front and to the right they had the heights of Suptitz, lined with strong batteries; with woods and morasses in their rear. This post was deemed impregnable; and so perhaps it would have proved against all enemies but Frederick. This prince detaches himself from the left wing of his army with 30 battalions and 50 squadrons, and marches towards the Austrian right wing, with a view of penetrating to their rear, through the woods and marshes. Ziethen had orders to attack their front with 30 battalions and 70 squadrons. Thus Daun found himself between two fires, and was obliged to front both ways. His batteries and grenadiers made the left wing of the Prussians, which had turned them, give way. The fire of his batteries produced a terrible effect. The king acknowledged he had never seen so violent a fire. He was slightly wounded in the breast.

breast. On his side, Ziethen met with no less obstinate a resistance. It was already night, and Daun wrote from the field of battle to the empress, "The just arms of your royal apostolic majesty have this day gained a complete victory over the king of Prussia, and the enemy is beaten." But, at seven in the evening, the king, who was determined to conquer or to die, joined his wing to that of Ziethen, renewed the attack, and got possession of the heights of Suptitz, and the principal batteries of the Austrians. Victory now decided in favour of the Prussians. They maintained themselves on these heights, and the Austrians did not dare to expose themselves the next day to a fresh attack. During the night they retreated over the Elbe, by Torgau, and left the Prussians the field of battle, after losing four generals, 200 officers, upwards of 14,000 killed and wounded, 50 pieces of cannon, and 30 pair of colours. Daun himself was dangerously wounded. (120)

This victory was attended with nearly the same loss to Frederick. But its consequences were highly advantageous to him. He preserved his winter quarters in Saxony, and was enabled to detach into Silesia, Pomerania, and the Marche, and drive the enemy from those provinces. Daun retired under the cannon of Dresden. Laudohn, however, had made an attempt on the fortrefs of Cosel, in Silesia; but general Golz appearing to relieve that place, he fell back on Glatz and Upper Silesia, towards the end of November, and Silesia was occupied by Prussian garrisons.

As the Russians had taken no strong place, and had
laid

laid waste the country, they were compelled to retire, and for the fourth time to take up their winter quarters in Poland.

General Werner, in his return from Colberg, drove the Swedes from the Ukrain Marche, and repulsed them beyond Peena, as far as Stralsund. Duke Ferdinand and the hereditary prince of Brunswick had frustrated the projects of the French against Hanover and Brandenburg. One hundred thousand French had, indeed, laid waste the country of Hesse, but they could not prevent the English from taking Pondicherry in Asia, and Canada in America. The enormous expences of France in this war did not terminate in any acquisition whatsoever, though they amounted annually to 400 millions of livres, one half of which passed into Germany; nor did the Austrians and Russians expend far short of that sum.

Yet, at the end of the year 1760, the king of Prussia found himself in the same situation as before; nor were his enemies farther advanced than at the beginning of the campaign. The only advantage they derived from the expenditure of so many millions, and the blood of so many thousands massacred in this campaign, was the little fortress of Glatz. But, however trivial that acquisition, it still served to cherish in the court of Vienna the hope of recovering Silesia, and, consequently, the desire of continuing the war. In fact, this court could, at no period, expect to find more powerful alliances than those she then enjoyed. She exerted herself, therefore, to kindle anew the flames of war in Germany, and found means to engage her allies

lies in fresh efforts against the king of Prussia. Frederick again opposed to such superior forces his courage and his genius; he laboured to complete his army, and even augmented it with some light troops. Colonel Quintus Icilius (Mr. Guichard) had orders to levy a legion, composed, like those of the Romans, of 6666 infantry, dragoons, and hussars.

Pitt had inspired into the English nation the warmest enthusiasm for the king of Prussia. Whilst the French thought, by combating in Germany, to avert their ruin in Asia and America, Pitt persuaded the parliament, that Frederick and Ferdinand might contribute in Germany to the conquest of Canada and Pondicherry. The news of the battles of Lignitz and Torgau was received in London with as much avidity as intelligence from the Indies and America. The Prussian officer, who carried to London the account of Frederick's last victory, was presented with 1000 guineas. Nor did the death of George II, in October, 1760, cause any revolution in the dispositions of the nation. George III. his grandson and successor, said, at the first meeting of Parliament after his accession, "Born and educated amongst you, I glory in the name of Briton. . . . I am determined to continue the war against our enemies; and I make no doubt that you will enable me to support, with all my forces, my friend and ally the king of Prussia." The parliament, charmed with this declaration, replied, "We cannot sufficiently admire the intrepid firmness of your majesty's ally, the king of Prussia, and the inexhaustible resources of his mind."

"mind. We chearfully grant the subsidies," &c. &c. These subsidies amounted to four millions of crowns.

The king remained in Saxony with his army, and passed the winter at Leipzig. The preparations for a fresh campaign against 280,000 enemies still left him time enough for peaceful occupations; and he every day dedicated some hours to reading, music, and the conversation of literary men.

At this moment, however, 80,000 Russians, 100,000 Austrians, 80,000 French, 30,000 troops of the circles, the Swedes, and others, were meditating a fresh campaign (1761) against Frederick and his dominions. It was soon discovered, that the junction of the Russian and Austrian armies still continued to be the favourite object of their operations. A considerable body of Russians were destined to fix themselves in Pomerania, under general Romanzow, and for this purpose to reduce Colberg or Stettin.

It was evident that the junction of the Austrians and Russians was to take place in Silesia, for which reason Frederick sent prince Henry into Saxony against Daun, and repaired himself to Silesia with a party of his army. Laudohn, who had the chief part to play in this campaign, commanded 60,000 men, and was striving to join the Russians in Upper Silesia. This Frederick prevented by rapid marches. The Russians, sensible that the passage of the Oder might be attended with danger for them in this country, retreated, in the month of August, along that river, towards Lower Silesia, and, in passing, bombarded for
some

some hours the island of the cathedral of Breslaw. Some days after, they threw a bridge of boats over the river, near the abbey of Leubus, and, on the 12th of August, 1761, joined the Austrians near Strigau, within the Oder.

Thus was this junction at length accomplished, which for the last four years had been the object of so many plans and preparations. But it did not produce the promised effect. Sixty thousand Austrians, and as many Russians, forming in all 130 battalions and 240 squadrons, were assembled, and seemed to menace the king's camp near Bunzelwitz, containing 50 battalions and 80 squadrons. Frederick's situation was dangerous: he could not hope essentially to mend his situation even by a victory; for how was it possible to conquer without a prodigious loss? Laudohn had shewn that he was disposed to keep firm; and if the king suffered a defeat, where were his resources? He had to dread the loss of his whole army, and could expect no reinforcements from Saxony or Pomerania. Thus situated, it was too much to risk a battle. Frederick, therefore, did not attack, but confined himself to strengthening his post so as to render it impossible for the enemy to attempt to force him without danger. Such are the means by which he was able for twenty days to elude the designs of a colossal army, and compel it to remain inactive.

The patience and address of Frederick in this circumstance are the more astonishing, as he was not accustomed to this manner of waging war, and those requisites were not in his character. In the camp, he
set

set the example of vigilance. Every night he visited in person the entrenchments, and sometimes remained near the fires until break of day. (121) The effects of this steady, immoveable firmness were soon perceived. Three armies, in which two hundred and fifty thousand men were, of necessity, to be furnished with provisions, and in which their chief military employment was the attempt to intercept the supplies of each other, could not long subsist within the space of a few miles, and between the mountains. The bushel of wheat was sold as high as 15 crowns. Butturlin, to whom Soltikoff had resigned the command of the Russians, on account of his ill health, was the first to feel the scarcity. On the 13th of September, he re-passed the Oder, leaving only 20,000 Russians under Czernicheff with the Austrian army. Even under this circumstance, the king found himself exposed to a superior enemy; but he now thought he might without danger quit his camp, where he was too much pressed. In consequence, he repaired into the plain of Strelen, in order to facilitate the subsistence of his army, and with the design of drawing the enemy out of the mountains. The very reverse of this took place. Laudohn, profiting by the distance of the king, fell upon, and took, sword in hand, the fortress of Schweidnitz. This was one of the hardiest and most brilliant actions of the whole war.

On the 30th of September, he surrounded the place by a chain of hussars, Croats, and Cossacks, in order to conceal the object of attack. Behind this chain, he stationed, during the night, at different places, and

at equal distances from the fortress, 20 battalions, so distributed as to have five at each post. These battalions advanced in the night, in four columns, with fascines and scaling ladders, whilst the Croats were making a false attack upon another side. At three in the morning, each column, without being discovered, had reached the work respectively assigned them. The volunteers, partly allured by promises, and, still more, by presents of brandy, threw themselves into the covered way, entered the exterior works, sword in hand, or with fixed bayonets, turned the cannon they found against the gates of the town, and in a few hours had scaled the ramparts. Laudohn's regiment distinguished itself by its bravery. At first it was repulsed by the Prussian regiment of Trescow, to a contention against which it was equal in all respects. "*Comrades,*" exclaimed colonel Laudohn, "*we must carry the rampart, or perish. Such were my promises to the general.*" Having thus spoken, he seized a ladder, leaps into the fosse; the soldiers follow him, prepare their ladders, and are the first upon the ramparts. A Prussian artillery-man, on this occasion, performed an action, of which few examples are to be found in history. When he saw the enemy upon the rampart, he cried aloud, "*They shall not all enter the town;*" and instantly set fire to a powder magazine, and blew himself up with 300 Austrians.

At day-break, the place was in the possession of the Austrians, and the garrison, composed of 3000 men, were made prisoners at discretion; yet the town had not been besieged, nor a single cannon fired against it.

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General Zastrow, who commanded the place, was not accused of being deficient in his duty. Apparently he was sufficiently guarded against a siege in form, but not against a nocturnal surprize. (122)

Laudohn was not willing to tarnish, as at Landshout, the glory of so brilliant an action, by ill-treating the inhabitants. He prevented the soldiers from pillaging, and promised them 100,000 florins as an indemnity.

This event produced a slight change in the king's situation. He encamped near Strelen on the Olau, still flattering himself, that Laudohn, encouraged by the success of Schweidnitz, would follow him into the plain and risk a battle. Frederick, in his present position, was able to cover the greatest part of Lower Silesia, and support the fortresses of Brieg, Cosel, Neisse, and Breslaw.

Laudohn remained in his camp near Freybourg, having a communication with Saxony, Bohemia, and Moravia.

This position the two armies kept till towards the end of the year; and it was imagined that this sort of truce was destined to favour negociations for peace. The enemies of Frederick seemed nearer than ever to their object. Laudohn was master of a considerable part of Silesia. Prince Henry could not, without a miracle, long maintain himself in Saxony against a greatly superior army of Austrians and troops of the circles. The Russians were spreading themselves over Pomerania with all their forces. The feeble corps sent to repulse them had been obliged not only to

give way to numbers, and the severity of the cold, but in November to abandon the camp into which they had retired near Colberg. In the middle of December, this little fortress was taken by the Russians, after a siege of four months. In September, they had lost their liberator. General Werner, having gone to meet a reinforcement he expected, was surrounded and taken prisoner by a party of Russians. It was very glorious for Heiden, who commanded the place, to have been able to defend himself for four months, against a fleet and a considerable body of besiegers, supported by Romanzow and his whole army.

The Russians, who were infinitely superior in numbers, continued the siege, and intercepted the entrance of all provisions into the place. The Russian officer, who was sent into the garrison with a summons, acquitted himself of his commission in presence of some of the soldiers. "*Comrades,*" cried Heiden, in presence of the officer, "*they summon us to surrender: what are your sentiments?*" "*Let us refuse,*" replied the soldiers: "*we will defend ourselves as long as we have either bread or powder.*" The officer was sent back with this answer. Heiden continued the defence, and had water poured on the walls, which soon froze and prevented the escalade. One pound of bread only was daily distributed to each soldier, and the provision lasted till the middle of December. When this failed, and there was no prospect of relief, it became necessary to capitulate, and the garrison marched out with honour.

The Russians then were masters of almost all Pomerania,

merania, except Stettin; and the possession of Colberg facilitated the transport of provision and ammunition for their army.

But, all these advantages combined did not still appear sufficient to the court of Vienna to establish a peace, the first condition of which must be the cession of Silesia to the house of Austria. It is to be presumed, therefore, that this court did not yet seriously try for peace.

Yet France, disheartened by a series of misfortunes, did not seem to be much longer in a condition to continue the war, with any appearance of success, against the English and their allies. She had recourse to policy, and negotiations commenced.

Sweden murmured against a war, which, without any success, cost her much more than the subsidies she received. The wisest men of that nation said, that they had done too much, if it were but an amusement; too little, if the parties were in earnest. In fact, during this campaign, the king had never opposed any body to them, but colonel Belling with his regiment of hussars, whom Frederick, in jesting with that officer, pleasantly called *his field marshal against the Swedes*.

The states of the empire, who were obliged to furnish and maintain troops for the army of the circles against the king, did not seem very anxious longer to take a share in a war, from which they had neither derived honour nor advantage, but had, on the contrary, received several severe checks from the hussars and free battalions.

In addition to this, Frederick was then labouring to set other springs in motion in the east of Europe, which should force Austria and Russia to withdraw their troops from Germany, and fly to the defence of their own dominions. He was known to have sent negociators to the Grand Signior, and the Kan of the Tartars, to excite them, by the attractive motives of their own interests, to make an irruption into Hungary and Russia. (123) This step could not fail of occasioning some anxiety at Vienna, where it could not be expected that the Turkish emperor should always remain as generous and pacific as in 1741 and 1745.

In proportion to the apprehension which the probability of these events excited, the disposition of his enemies to seize with avidity every possible means of forcing Frederick to peace became augmented. A Silesian gentleman and a priest of Strelen formed the project of carrying off the king from his head quarters, and of delivering him to the Austrians. The latter acceded to the proposition. The execution of it was so easy, and so near succeeding, that Europe was less astonished at the boldness of the enterprize, than at the king's good fortune, which rescued him from the danger. Frederick's quarters were in a house rather solitary, and, as usual, he had no other guards than a few grenadiers for centinels. The baron de Warkotsch (*this* was the name of the Silesian gentleman) went frequently to visit the king, and was received by him in the most gracious manner. Yet, this miscreant proposed the project he had conceived, by means of one Schmidt, a priest, to an Austrian officer,

officer, named Wallis. The baron's chasseur, who carried the letters to the priest, suspected some treachery in this correspondence, which was accompanied with conferences. On the 29th of November, he opened one of these letters addressed to Schmidt, discovered the secret, and revealed it to the king. An officer was instantly sent to seize the traitors, but by a strange negligence he suffered them to escape. (124) Their trial was instituted, they were declared guilty of high treason, and condemned to be quartered in effigy. When the king read the sentence, and saw the words *in effigy*, he took the pen to sign it, saying, "*In effigy! with all my heart; the portraits, doubtless, will not be worth much more than the originals.*" He never would have consented to this punishment, had it been possible to inflict it on the criminals themselves. He seemed even well pleased at their having escaped, and did not utter the least reproach against the officer for his negligence. (125)

When the ministers of the court of Vienna discovered, that, upon this occasion, their conduct had not escaped the violence of suspicion, they laboured at their exculpation, positively contradicting the report of their having promised 100,000 ducats to the baron. The counts de *Wallis* declared in the public papers, that the officer of that name, to whom the letter was addressed, did not belong to their family.

Fortune, in rescuing Frederick from this danger, was preparing a fresh scene of glory for him at the conclusion of this long war. This brilliant prospect

opened to his view at the commencement of the year 1762.

Elizabeth Petrowna, empress of Russia, died on the 5th of January of this year. The event freed the king from an irreconcilable enemy, and gave him, in her successor, an enthusiastic admirer of the Prussians. Never did a more sudden revolution take place in the sentiments of a court. Elizabeth, who had sacrificed 300,000 men to her personal and impolitic hatred of the king of Prussia, retained her rancour to her last breath, and, when expiring, ordered the war to be continued. Two days before her death, she forced the senate to promise that they would not make peace with Prussia without the participation of the allies. The inclinations of this princess were as little consulted after her death as the desires of the generality of those who vainly imagine that their orders will be respected beyond the grave. Peter III. had long admired Frederick, and the first measure of his reign was to make a separate peace with him. Golz and Schwérin, two young aides de camp of the king, were the negotiators, and the news of it was brought by the latter to Frederick, who was then at Breslaw.

The Russian troops had orders immediately to evacuate the dominions of the king. In March, Czernicheff, with the corps under his orders, quitted the Austrian army; and, passing through that of the Prussians, crossed the Oder in his return to Poland. When he first began his movement, the Austrians imagined it was to execute some project against the king

king of Prussia. Frederick entertained the generals at Breslaw, and furnished the army with provisions as far as the confines of Poland, from whence they soon returned into Silesia as the friends and allies of the Prussians. As the court of Vienna refused to accept the propositions of peace which were then made to her, Czernicheff had orders, in consequence of the alliance formed at Petersburg with Prussia, to march back from Poland into Silesia with 20 battalions, 40 squadrons, and 1000 Cossacks, with express instructions to obey the king of Prussia without restriction. Frederick exercised in person these auxiliary troops, which joined his army the 30th of June near Lissa. Nor was this event less important for him, than the victory he had gained over the Austrians, on the same spot, on the 5th of November, 1757. These new allies were extremely well treated; they were not suffered to want brandy: the Cossacks called the Prussians comrades, and flocked around the king, to enjoy the satisfaction of beholding his person.

This was not the only advantage which Frederick derived from this revolution. Peter III. restored him all the Prussian prisoners in his power. (126) On giving Werner his liberty, he made him a present of 1000 ducats. Some thousands of recruits might, at this period, have been drawn from Prussia, and all the troops in Pomerania sent into Saxony and Silesia. This peace with the Russians was soon succeeded by another with the Swedes.

Yet, the Austrian armies under Daun and Laudohn were still masters of Schweidnitz, Glatz, and the mountains.

mountains. As a compensation for the loss of the Russians, they drew reinforcements from their own provinces, and still thought themselves so superior to Frederick, that, in spite of the rapid revolution of affairs, they had no doubt of being able to dictate terms. The court of Vienna would not listen to those proposed by the court of Petersburg. Perhaps it was not unreasonable to doubt whether the situation of things occasioned by this extraordinary revolution, would prove of long duration.

In this century it has rarely happened that the presumptive heir has either succeeded to the throne of Russia, or preserved it, for any length of time, in his possession. (127) By a fundamental law of Peter I. the Czar has the right of naming his successor; but the senate and the sovereign's guards have maintained themselves in the usage of overthrowing these dispositions by sudden revolutions, and of bestowing the crown at their discretion. Nor was it difficult to foresee the destiny of a sovereign in this empire, who commenced his reign by alienating the senate, his guards, and, above all, his consort. Peter III. wished to metamorphose, in a moment, his Russians into Germans, and his soldiers into Prussians. He demanded a Prussian regiment, by way of model for his troops, and Frederick gave him the regiment of Sybourg. The Czar wore the Prussian uniform, and introduced their discipline and exercise into his army. His imitation even extended to the Prussian *canings*, which he substituted for the *knout* practised among the Russians. But that which Peter did not sufficient-
ly

ly imitate, was the policy of Frederick. This prince had counselled him by no means to wound the national pride, and to keep well with his priests and guards; (128) but he was deaf to this advice. He deprived his guards of their peculiar privileges, put them on the footing of simple soldiers, and insulted their feelings, by telling them that with a single regiment of Prussians he would engage to beat the whole Russian guards. He trusted the care of his person to Germans. The senate were no longer consulted; he compelled the priests to cut off their beards, to renounce their territorial property, and to live on pensions. (129) He removed the images from the churches, and built a Lutheran chapel in his palace, in spite of all the representations of the bishops. He either abolished or changed several arrangements made under the late empress. Changes operated in this manner, had the air of proceeding rather from a hatred of the nation, of the religion of the country, and of the preceding reign, than of originating in anxiety for the public welfare. It was remarked also that peace was not made with the Prussians, to deliver the empire from the burthen of war; for Peter, soon after, sent troops into Holstein, to make war with the king of Denmark. The party of the malecontents augmented daily. It was no difficult task to represent the emperor and his Germans as enemies of the Russians, and to excite the desire of a revolution.

Catherine Alexiewna, princess of Anhalt Zerbst, wife of Peter III. found every thing disposed to support

port an enterprize, which has been justified by a glorious and brilliant reign, whatever may have been its real motive. For some preceding years, Peter had quitted her, to live with the daughters of Woronzow. He did not hesitate to proceed to such lengths as to declare the youngest his lawful consort. Catherine had no alternative between the throne and the convent. She preferred the throne of which she was worthy, and, putting herself at the head of the Russian guards, was proclaimed empress, whilst Peter became a close prisoner at Oranienbaum. The troops, the senate, the clergy, the people, all shouted, "*Long live Catherine, empress of all the Russias!*" Peter, during the intoxication which followed the excess to which he drank brandy, renounced the throne, by a declaration written with his own hand, wherein he says, "That, during the short space of his reign, he had felt himself incapable of governing the Russian empire; that, in consequence, he thus declared on oath, and before the whole universe, that he renounced for ever the reins of government." He demanded permission to retire into Holstein, with the countess of Woronzow. But fortune, which had deprived him of the crown, did not think proper any longer to prolong a life, which could only be a burthen to him, and *might even become dangerous to others*. A violent cholic brought him to the tomb six days after his abdication.

The first use Catherine made of her power was to put an end to a war which exhausted the empire. It did not appear, however, that peace with Prussia originally

nally formed a part of that plan. The empress, possibly, in some degree, attributed to the court of Prussia the motives which directed the conduct of her husband. She observes in her first manifesto, "That the emperor Peter III. had wounded the honour of the empire by making peace *with the greatest enemy of Russia.*" On the very day of the revolution, the Russian troops, which were in the Prussian countries, had orders to consider the Prussians as their enemies. But the letters of Frederick, found among the papers of the Czar, soon convinced Catherine, that this prince had frequently counselled him to moderation, and to remain united with his consort. This discovery induced the empress to make peace with Prussia, and the orders sent to the troops were revoked a few days afterwards. These revolutions rapidly succeeded each other. On the 7th of July, the Russian eagles were still at Koningsberg; on the 8th, the Prussian eagles were displayed, in consequence of the peace with Peter; on the 15th, the Russian eagles were again hoisted by the order of Catherine; and on the 20th, those of Prussia were left finally waving on the ramparts.

Catherine declared that she was determined to live in peace with every foreign court, and recalled her troops from Silesia, Mecklenbourg, and Pomerania. This may be regarded as the foundation for the general peace which soon followed her determination. Thus did this princess announce, from the very commencement of her reign, that preponderance which her power and policy were soon to give to Russia, both in Europe and in Asia.

Whilst

Whilst Russia was agitated by these revolutions, Frederick had advanced with an army against Schweidnitz. His light troops committed continual ravages in the rear of Daun, by which it was intended to draw him from Schweidnitz before the gates of Prague. But that general, who had an advantageous position on the heights of Burkersdorf, was not inclined to quit it. The king, therefore, attacked him spiritedly on the 21st of July, killed and took 2000 men, drove him from the heights, and compelled him to retire into Bohemia. Previous to this action, Czernicheff had received his orders to quit Silesia; but he remained in his position, to wait the issue of this enterprize. He remained a simple spectator, and, in this inactive character, contributed to the success of Frederick. On this occasion, it must be remembered, that Daun, not knowing that general's orders, stationed part of his forces opposite the Russians, and thus enfeebled his army.

The king now undertook the siege of Schweidnitz, and opened his trenches in the night of the 8th of August. Eight days after, Daun attempted with a powerful army to raise the siege, but was repulsed near Reichenback.

Laudohn had proved at Schweidnitz the preceding year that a fortress may be taken by surprise, sword in hand; and the king of Prussia now shewed, that the best defended fortress can resist but for a certain time a regular and well conducted siege. He had the patience to wait the event of this siege, and was himself frequently in the trenches. There is no example of a
siege

siege more regular, nor of a more ingenious defence. General Griboval and the engineer Le Fevre, who, some time before, had written against each other respecting some points of their art, here found an opportunity of applying their principles, and of proving their solidity in practice. The former conducted the defence of the fortress under the orders of general Gasko, and Le Fevre directed the siege under Frederick. Griboval had maintained, that a place well provided could at least hold out two months ; and Le Fevre pretended, that a regular siege must succeed against any place in less than that time. The event, as it were, confirmed both opinions. Gasko offered to capitulate on the 17th of September ; and this circumstance took place in less than two months from the opening of the trenches ; but, as the propositions were not accepted, Griboval was obliged to continue the defence till the expiration of the two months, according to his principles ; and he succeeded. The means employed by these two engineers were mines and countermines. On the 8th of October, Le Fevre plaid off, during the night, an artificial volcano, or globe of compression, of 50 hundred weight of powder, which he had placed 24 feet deep in the earth, under a covered way, which produced an aperture of 30 feet diameter, and the earth thrown out opened a way to the interior works. Almost at the same time, a grenade, launched from a howitz by the besiegers, set fire to a magazine of powder in the fortress, which blew up a whole bastion, with eight officers and two companies of Austrian grenadiers. The Prussians
were

were preparing for the assault, but Gasko would not wait for it. Having lost all hopes of succour, he surrendered the 9th of October, just two months after the opening of the trenches, and a garrison of 9000 men were made prisoners of war.

This war again left the king master of all Silesia, except Glatz. He terminated his campaign in this province by that conquest, and hastened into Saxony, to embrace his brother Henry, who had just gained a signal victory at Freyberg. This prince had maintained himself in Saxony with an inconsiderable body of troops, and had attacked and beaten, on the 29th of October, near Freyberg, the combined army of the Austrians and the circles, commanded by the prince of Stolberg, who retired into Bohemia with the loss of 7000 men and 22 pieces of cannon. The king sent after him Kleist, the general of hussars, with a body of light troops. This corps destroyed all their magazines, and proceeded into Franconia, to give weight to the proposition of neutrality which Ploto, the Prussian minister, had made to the diet of Ratisbon. Kleist put a garrison into Bamberg, and advanced further. The town of Nuremberg discovered some reluctance in opening the gates to the general of their burgrave. The counsellors gravely assembled, and prepared a pompous capitulation in the style of the empire, wherein they talked of the question *an*, of the question *quomodo*, and of encroachments on their liberty *in secularibus & ecclesiasticis, in civilibus & militaribus*, adding more observations of a similar purport. The Prussian general wrote underneath this learned production,

duction, that he would answer every thing as soon as he got into the town, and the gates were opened to him. Whilst he was levying contributions, and emptying the arsenal, his hussars continued their incursions to the banks of the Danube. One of his majors, with a troop of hussars, took the Imperial city of Windsheim. A cornet, named Sturzbecher, was detached with 25 horse and a trumpet to summon the Imperial town of Rotenbourg on the Tauber. The citizens repaired in arms to the ramparts, and made no answer. After the expiration of an hour, the Prussians burnt the drawbridges, and threatened an assault. The town capitulated. Sturzbecher was introduced, who shut the gates after him, took possession of the arsenal, and exacted a contribution of 100,000 crowns.

In the mean time, the prince of Stolberg, reinforced by 10 Austrian regiments, had passed from Bohemia into Franconia, on whose appearance Kleist retreated with his light troops, and, on the 17th of December, took up his winter quarters in Thuringia, with his hostages and the cannon of Nuremberg.

Immediately after the affair of Freyberg, the two armies had received reinforcements from Silesia and Bohemia. But, except the city of Dresden, the Austrians retained only a small part of Saxony, situated towards the frontiers of Bohemia. The Prussians formed a chain from Thuringia to the frontiers of Hungary, by Saxony, Lusatia, and Silesia. Towards the end of November, a truce was concluded between the Imperial and Prussian troops in Saxony and Silesia. Such was the situation of Frederick with respect to

Austria and the empire, when peace was ratified between France, Spain, and England. This peace was the fruit of French policy. There was no other method of avoiding total ruin. France was so thoroughly impressed with the danger of sinking under the power of England, that she did not conceive a peace to be too extravagantly purchased, even by the sacrifice of nearly all her foreign possessions, her whole maritime forces, and her commerce. This will appear more evident from the following sketch of affairs in 1762.

The English were masters of Canada, Newfoundland, Martinico, Guadaloupe, &c. in America; of Senegal and Gorée, in Africa; they had destroyed Pondicherry and Chandernagore; they had ruined the French commerce on the Ganges, and were even in possession of Belleisle, on the coast of Britany. Towards the end of 1762, Louis XV. possessed scarcely an inch of land without the frontiers of his kingdom. He had neither a fleet nor money, and he seemed to be abandoned by fortune. His ministers of finances could no longer procure resources for the expences of the war. In vain did one comptroller-general succeed another. The money had either crossed the seas with the fleets, or passed into Germany with the army, and never returned into the kingdom. The king and princes of the blood had sent their plate to the mint, and rich individuals were obliged to follow this example; so expressive of the utmost national danger and miserable was the remedy adopted against this evil. In the five years during which this power had been connected with Austria, it was drained of more men and

and money than it had been in the course of 200 years wars with that house. The states and towns built and equipped ships at their own expence for the service of their country; but no sooner did they appear on the sea than they were taken or destroyed. Flat-bottomed boats were constructed at Brest, to make a descent on Ireland, but scarcely had the fleet designed for this purpose put to sea, when it was destroyed on its own coast. France had lost in this war 80 ships of the line or frigates.

It was in vain that Louis XV. prevailed upon Spain to take a part in the war against England; instead of deriving strength from that measure, he only communicated his misfortunes to his ally, and opened to the English a vast field for new conquests. For 1000l. Pitt had obtained timely information and a copy of the treaty entered into on that occasion. After reading it, he did not employ himself in studying the means of defence against a fresh enemy; he formed the project of conquering Mexico, Peru, and Chili. Upon the declaration of war with Spain, the English made themselves masters of the Havanna, and several islands; rich channels by which were conveyed into the old world the treasures of the new. (130)

In this manner had Pitt enchained the nation to his counsels, and fortune to his administration.* This man, possessed of the like noble soul which animated

* Well may the author thus express himself, considering the enthusiastic attachment of the people to Mr. Pitt, and the very extraordinary success of his measures. He resigned, however, before the war commenced with Spain, and consequently the Havanna was not reduced in his administration.

those republican heroes who laid the foundation of the Roman greatness, had no other object in view than the good of his nation, no other recompence than glory. By a series of victories and conquests, he repressed the spirit of party which murmured in parliament, and forced the envious courtiers to be silent. Under his influence appeared what is most extraordinary in the assembly of a nation, an unity of voices. In the midst of a whirlwind of prosperity, an expence of £. 75,000,000, which, in the space of six years these triumphs had cost, was scarcely perceived. The conquests already atchieved, and those still in prospect, were to compensate all damages. Pitt would not hear of peace, whilst France and Spain refused to submit to the conditions prescribed by England; the first of which was, that she should retain all the acquisitions she had made. Every thing was to be expected from the firmness of Pitt and the enthusiasm of the people.

There remained, therefore, no other resource to Louis XV. than that of negociation. Choiseul found in the intrigues of the English cabinet the means of saving France. The princess dowager of Wales possessed great influence, and effected a change both of men and measures. The earl of Bute, a handsome Scotchman, had been governor to the king her son, and was the favourite of that princess. She procured him the place of the duke of Newcastle. It was easy to secure the confidence of the young king, and to controul the affairs of the cabinet; which thence became but the more odious to the nation. Pitt, who was desirous of

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continuing the war, was over-ruled in council; he resigned his employment, and Bute hastened the peace, with the view of gaining the affection of the people by a consequent diminution of the taxes, and re-establishment of the freedom of commerce.

The French ministry neglected not to avail themselves of the dispositions of the English cabinet, and at the beginning of September peace was signed at Fontainebleau. A few strokes of the pen, and skilful negotiations, restored to the house of Bourbon, in a few days, the greatest part of the possessions the English had taken from her in the four quarters of the world; and these were Pondicherry, the Philippines, Martinico, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, the Havanna, Honduras, Gorée, Belleisle, and the fishery of Newfoundland. It is true that England retained Canada, which she had conquered, and which contained 150,000 square English miles.* But in vain did the peace-makers attempt to impose on the people by the acquisition of this vast country, more extensive than the three kingdoms of Great Britain collectively. It was well known that this whole territory was not worth the little island of Martinico alone. Bute, as the price of this peace, risked being stoned to death in the streets of London, and only escaped from the fury of the populace by throwing himself into the carriage of another. The same day, the people unharnessed the horses from Pitt's carriage, and drew him home in triumph from the mansion house.

* Canada, as ceded at the peace of 1762, contained much more than this extent.

Though this peace was concluded without the participation of the German allies, and without comprehending them in the treaty, it was the principal cause of the succeeding treaty which was shortly after signed by Austria, Prussia, and Saxony. It was long since the king of Prussia had found himself in so advantageous a situation. The revolution in the cabinet of St. James's deprived him, indeed, of the subsidies he received from England; but this deficiency was supplied by the sums he now drew from Prussia, Westphalia, Saxony, Thuringia, and other provinces. The sources of his finances seemed inexhaustible. It has been calculated that two millions of livres were necessary for him weekly, to pay his army; yet there was no question either of fresh imposts or of foreign loans. The army intended to have acted against the Austrians, had been reinforced by recruits from Prussia, Westphalia, and Pomerania, and was consequently more considerable than when he had to resist the same power, supported by 200,000 French, Russians, and Swedes; and he was so posted as by a slight movement to carry the war into Bohemia.

Thus circumstanced, the advantage seemed wholly on the side of the king of Prussia. One or two campaigns only were necessary amply to indemnify the king for the expences of the war. He listened, however, to peace, and laid down his arms without other conditions than the repose after which he so long had sighed. He had not commenced this war to make new conquests, but to preserve the acquisitions which ensued from former victories.

If the princes who occasioned this war had ever been able seriously to reflect on the miseries of every kind which this calamity had spread over many millions of their fellow-creatures, never could that reflection have made a more lively impresson on them than at the present moment to which we now allude. On all sides, the famine was so great, that the poor could no longer find subsistence. The fields were without cultivation and without harvests. The bushel of wheat in Saxony, Silesia, and elsewhere, cost from 15 to 20 crowns; a loaf of bread, 6 gros, or 9 pence; a pair of shoes, 3 crowns; 2 crowns the hundred weight of hay, and 8 crowns for 60 bundles of straw. (131) Dearth, and unwholesome food, produced disorders and mortality, and depopulated the provinces. An officer wrote, that, in crossing Hesse, he had passed through seven villages, in which he had found only a single man and a priest eating lentils. We shrink back with horror on reflecting that a few hundred thousands of men are able, in the course of a few years, to desolate whole countries, and diffuse misfortune and misery over many millions of their fellow creatures. This war furnished as sad a proof, that the money which it brings into circulation by no means communicates welfare and prosperity to mankind. It is estimated that this war brought into circulation in Germany upwards of 500 millions of crowns in specie, which came from England, France, Russia, and the coffers of Austria and Prussia; yet, misery was never so universal throughout the empire.

Germany, in consequence, sighed after peace, to

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which

which the court of Vienna did not yet seem disposed. Her ministers were inclined to continue the war, and Maria-Theresa, who had bestowed on them her whole confidence, relied on their opinions. They thought it was losing too much to make a peace without conquests, because their expectations had been too sanguine from the powerful alliances they had formed. But, France and Russia pressed that court to a conclusion, and its compliance became inevitable.

The forerunner of this peace was a truce entered into in November between the Austrian and Prussian armies. But the court of Vienna endeavoured, by a secret arrangement with the French, to procure an advantage which might enable it either to prescribe conditions to the king, or oblige him to divide his forces, should the war continue. The French garrisons, which, by the peace of Fontainebleau, were to evacuate the Prussian fortresses of Wesel, Cleves, Gueldres, and Mœurs, deferred the execution of it until the moment when the Austrian troops, which were to assemble near Ruremonde, should be ready to enter those places, and take possession of them in the name of the queen of Hungary. In the above treaty it was stipulated that these places should be evacuated by the French, but it was not *expressly* said that they should be delivered to the king of Prussia. Such are the wretched artifices to which ministers too often have recourse; for, we cannot place proceedings of this nature to the account of sovereigns.

Frederick, however, prevented a project which in its execution would have retarded the negotiations for peace.

peace. He assembled a body of troops in Westphalia. France, who had not expected such a precaution, and was willing to oblige the court of Vienna by facilitating her intention of getting possession of these places, did not chuse to push her complaisance so far as to defend them by her arms. Monteinard, the French commander in this country, concluded a treaty with Prussia in December, and delivered up the fortresses. Austria, deceived in her expectations, was obliged to turn her mind to other projects.

She could no longer place the least reliance upon the assistance of the circles. The defeat of Freyberg, and general Kleist's visit in Franconia, had disposed them to relinquish the game, and they were confirmed in this disposition by being left out of the truce concluded in Saxony, and exposed singly on the field of battle to hostilities from the king of Prussia. They therefore declared a neutrality.

This measure removed the remaining obstacles to a general peace. Frederick had the negociations under his own eyes at the palace of Hubertsbourg, near Dresden. The first assembly was holden in January, 1763, and on the 15th of February peace was concluded and signed at the king's head-quarters. In one and twenty days from this period, each belligerent power found itself in possession of its provinces, *as before the beginning of this war*. So true it is, that very little time and few formalities are necessary to conclude an important affair, when the mode of conducting it is strengthened under the influence of a superior genius, which, like nature, always chuses the simplest and most

most active means. The negociators were not ministers and ambassadors surrounded with pomp and magnificence, but three laborious subalterns in office; Kollenbach, counsellor of the Austrian court; Hertzberg, counsellor of the Prussian legation; and Fritsch, a Saxon privy counsellor. There was not a case of mere form and ceremony. (132) The reciprocal restitution of conquests, and the renunciation of all indemnifications, constitute the chief articles of the treaty. (133) The king, by a secret article, promised to give his electoral voice to Joseph II. who was soon after elected king of the Romans.

This is the third treaty of peace which secures and confirms to Frederick the possession of Silesia; and as he owed this advantage to the superiority of his arms, Austria learnt to respect him, and no longer ventured, for the remainder of his life, to dispute with him the possession of that province.

Thus terminated the war of seven years, during which there were more battles fought, more sieges undertaken, and more men and treasures sacrificed in Germany, than in the famous war of 30 years, which lasted from 1618 till 1648. And what was the result? For Austria, mortification and frustrated expectations; for the Saxons, a general devastation; and for Prussia, everlasting glory. The success of this war made Frederick's renown fly over the whole globe, and he became the object of universal admiration. It was natural to regard, as the most extraordinary man in Europe, a prince whom the combined forces of the greatest powers of Europe were unable to subdue.

Fame

Fame conveyed the renown of Frederick to Constantinople. The emperor Mustapha III. sent an ambassador to Berlin, to congratulate him on the glorious peace which he had concluded. Achmet Effendi, the ambassador, made his entrance, accompanied by a brilliant suit of domestics, slaves, and janissaries; and the presents for the king filled several waggons, and loaded a great number of horses. Frederick, who hated forms, felt himself reduced to the necessity of giving this ambassador a reception of that nature into which the admission of the solemn pomp and the parade of courts was unavoidable. To *such* a king, the profusion of oriental panegyric, with which the minister of Mustapha ornamented his recital of the military achievements of the Prussian hero, was tedious and disgusting. A monarch of the common stamp would have been delighted with such unqualified adulation.

OBSERVATIONS,

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OBSERVATIONS, &c.

(1) **F**REDERICK I. restored the circle of Scwibus to Austria shortly after the death of his father. Some of his counsellors having remonstrated to him on the subject, he replied, "*I keep my word; but my present conduct cannot bind my successors; I leave to them the care of enforcing their claims upon Silesia.*"

(2) This chaplain was called *Ursinus*. The king ennobled him the day of his coronation under the name of *Ursinus de Boer*, and, amongst other privileges, permitted him to bear the sacred *ampulla*, or *phial*, in his coat of arms.

(3) The following letters patent, granted at this time to the president, will afford a specimen of the pleasantry that reigned at the court of Frederick-William :

"Frederick-William, by the grace of God, king of Prussia, &c. to all those to whom these letters shall come greeting. Be it known to all the learned world, that we have named the noble, sage, and experienced count Stein president of our society of sciences, in consideration of his extensive knowledge, celebrated far and wide, in antiquities, in ancient and modern coins, in natural philosophy, mechanics, botanics, hydraulics, pneumatics, statics, as well as in cabilistics, in the knowledge of good and evil spirits, and also in the doctrine of the Pre-Adamites,
" &c.

“ &c. . . . Be it also ordained, that the said president
 “ do observe the particular revolutions which shall happen
 “ in the heavens ; as, for example, when Mars shall have
 “ cast a malignant look towards the sun, or shall form a
 “ party with Saturn, Venus, and Mercury ; or when the
 “ zodiac shall recede ; or when, according to the Cartesian
 “ system, a vortex shall be exhausted and absorbed, and
 “ there shall be reason to apprehend the appearance of an
 “ infinite number of comets. Our will and pleasure is, that,
 “ in all these cases, the said president, with all the other
 “ members of the said academy, do assemble, in order to
 “ confer on these events, to enquire into the causes of
 “ these disorders, and consult on the means of remedying
 “ the same. We ordain likewise, that he shall la-
 “ bour with all his might totally to destroy all evil spirits,
 “ hobgoblins, ghosts, night-mares, were-wolves, elves, and
 “ other imps of Satan ; and we further promise a reward of
 “ six crowns to any person who shall bring to us one of the
 “ said evil spirits dead or alive,” &c. &c.

Frederick-William one day gave his academicians the following question to resolve :

“ *What is the physical reason why two glasses of champaign,
 “ struck against each other, do not render so strong and so
 “ clear a sound as when they are filled with any other sort of
 “ wine ; and why is this sound so dead and stifled ?*”

The academicians replied, that, as they were not rich enough to buy champaign, they could neither observe nor explain this phenomenon. The king sent them a dozen of champaign ; but they drank it, and gave no answer.

(4) The king, who chose the Dutch as models in many actions of his private life, took no recreation but in this sort of orgies. In a chamber of the palace at Berlin is a picture representing one of these assemblies. The king is in the middle,

middle, and the queen, seated by him, is lighting his pipe with a piece of paper. Around the royal couple are the ministers and generals, with their decorations and their pipes, placed according to their respective ranks.

At Berlin and at Potsdam are still to be seen two little pavilions which were appropriated to these Dutch revels. That at Berlin is on the banks of the Sprée, in the walk called *Lustgarten*, and adjoining to the castle-church. The other, at Potsdam, is a small square building in the middle of a large piece of water, which has retained the name of the Dutch Quarter. It was in these pavilions that the king held his councils of war, and every day after dinner went to drink beer and smoke with his generals. A sort of soup was served up, composed of salt beef, ham, and coarse cold meat, and beer was the only drink put upon the table.

(5) When Frederick-William went to review his troops, he walked on foot through the town. On this occasion, all persons whatever withdrew as quick as possible. Above all, he could not endure the sight of a woman in the streets. When he met one, he sent her home with a box on the ear, a stroke of his cane, or a kick, saying, "*What does this strumpet do here? Honest women remain at home with their families.*"

One day in summer he surprised several women walking behind the palace in a public place called *the King's Garden*, but which is only a great square for exercise. On seeing them, he called the soldiers, sent for brooms, and obliged the fine ladies to sweep the place for half an hour.

Nor would he suffer ecclesiastics to frequent the parade, but when he perceived any there, he struck them with his cane, and directed them to retire to read the Bible, and make sermons.

(6) The German courts had, for a preceding length of time, adopted the French manners and language. This taste gained ground insensibly under the reign of Louis XIV. The wars carried on by that monarch, first on the frontiers, and afterwards even in Germany; the revocation of the edict of Nantz, which dispersed above half the refugees over that country; the arts and sciences, then advanced to the highest degree of perfection by the French; the urbanity, the politeness, and graces of that people, which had rendered them the model of almost all the nations of Europe; and, indeed, all circumstances whatsoever concurred to bestow on the French language the universal monarchy in the literary world.

The Great Elector had received upwards of twenty thousand French in his dominions, whom he had wisely distributed in the towns and villages, to repair the depopulation in consequence of the war of thirty years. The refugees introduced with them the language, the manners, the arts, and manufactures of their native country.

Under the government of Frederick I. to the taste for useful articles brought from France was added an excessive rage for all the less important but attractive luxuries which originate in that kingdom; spectacles, dresses, furniture, cooks, tutors, and governesses. The whole was French. Frederick II. therefore, was born in the midst of a French world; and he read few German works: but, indeed, at this period, it was not easy to find any considerable number which merited a perusal.

(7) We have said that Frederick had formed the design of going to England, and wished to marry a princess of that court. The king, at first, thought that the princess, afterwards married to the hereditary prince of Bareith, was in the plot, and, in the first emotion of his rage, endeavoured to dash her, by a stroke of his foot, headlong from a window of which

the panes descended to the floor. Luckily, the queen, who was present, held her by the gown; and, thus, preserved her from falling.

(8) One of this prince's generals, having complained to him of a sentence which the chamber of justice had just given in an affair that concerned him; the king repaired immediately to the audience chamber, where the tribunal was assembled, and, there, first attacking the president, he severely caned all the judges, reviling them by the low and odious appellations of *rogues* and *blackguards*. It was a truly comic scene to behold those grave magistrates running from one side to the other of the hall, to avoid the king, who was pursuing them with his cane. This mode of treating the officers of justice has left certain traces, which will with difficulty be effaced from the spirit of the tribunals of Brandenburg.

(9) This girl was afterwards married to a director of the public carriages. King Frederick II. gave her a pension of nearly six hundred livres, to obliterate from her memory all recollection of the outrage which she had suffered on his account.

(10.) Rheinsberg belongs at present to prince Henry, brother to the late and uncle to the present king, who passes three fourths of the year there, and neglects nothing to make it the residence of all the fine arts.

(11) The merit of Frederick II. did not escape the penetrating eye of prince Eugene, who predicted that he would one day be a great captain.

The prince royal, having gone to reconnoitre the lines of Philippsbourg, as in his return he passed through a very open wood, was exposed to the cannon of the lines, which thun-

dered without ceasing. Though the balls broke a number of branches on every side of him, he never mended his horse's pace, nor did his hand which held the bridle alter a single instant its motion. He continued to converse tranquilly with the generals who attended him, and never betrayed the least signs of apprehension.

Frederick, then only prince royal, was at supper one night with field-marshal Grumkow. The conversation turned on the young prince Eugene, who died upon the Rhine, and he was asked whether that prince would ever have become a great man. The prince decided in the negative, upon the ground of his not having known, at any period of his life, how to chuse a friend who dared to tell him the truth.

(12) Though Frederick II. was a free mason, he did not like to have the usages of masonry extended beyond the interior of the lodge. Some masons, having sent him a petition during the war of the Bavarian succession, thought proper to add to their names their titles and degrees in the order. The king immediately sent the petition to the lieutenant of police, with an injunction to the subscribers to make no more use of those titles.

An upholsterer, who was at work, one day, in the king's apartment, endeavoured to make himself known to the king, as a free mason; but Frederick turned his back on him and retired.

(13) Frederick wrote thus to Mr. Suhm, the Saxon envoy at Petersburg, who had lived familiarly with him at Rheinfelsberg :

“ We have had fresh bickerings these few days past. The whole arises from a jealousy which Bredow * entertains of Wolden. † The former has found the means of insinuating

* Formerly governor of the prince royal.

† Marshal of the court of the prince of Prussia.

“ating to the king that I am a man without religion, that
 “Manteufel * and you have greatly contributed to pervert
 “me, and that Wolden is a madman who plays the buffoon
 “with us, and is my favourite. You know that the charge
 “of irreligion is the last refuge of calumniators, and that
 “this once said, there is nothing more to add. The king
 “took fire, I kept close, my regiment did wonders, and the
 “handling of arms, a little flour scattered on the heads of
 “the soldiers, men upwards of six feet high, and plenty of
 “recruits, have proved stronger arguments than those of my
 “traducers. Every thing at present is quiet, and there is
 “no more talk of religion, of Wolden, of my persecutors,
 “and of my regiment,” &c.

When Frederick-William was ill of the gout, he had fits of passion which were sometimes entertaining. His physician had told him that it would contribute greatly to his health to give free vent to his anger. His majesty's coachman was charged to excite these salutary crises, and to expose himself to their effects. For this purpose, he well papped his shoulders, and when the king grew out of humour, gave him a rude answer; the monarch then caned him as long as he had strength remaining for the repetition of his blows.

In his fits of the gout he generally amused himself with painting in oil colours, and his grenadiers served him as a model. When the portrait was paler or redder than the original, he took a brush, and daubed with rouge either the portrait or the cheeks of the grenadier, and then admired with what skill he had hit on the resemblance. There are still to be seen at the castle of Berlin some of these pictures, at the bottom of which is inscribed, *Freder. Wilhelmus in tormentis pinxit.*

* This is the celebrated Manteufel, afterwards prime minister at the court of Saxony, who was succeeded by count Brühl.

(14) The following is the last will of Frederick-William, respecting his interment.

“ My dear son, the following instruction I leave you re-
“ specting the manner in which my body is to be treated,
“ when the Most High shall have withdrawn me from this
“ world. 1st. As soon as I am dead, let my body be washed,
“ have a clean shirt put on it, and be laid out on a wooden
“ table ; then let me be shaved, cleaned, and covered with a
“ sheet. Four hours let me lie in this state. 2dly. After
“ this let my body be opened in the presence of lieutenant-
“ general Buddenbrock, colonel Derfchau, lieutenant-colonel
“ Ensfidel, major Bredow, captains Prinzen and Hake, lieu-
“ tenant Winterfeld, and of all the physicians and surgeons
“ of regiments who shall be in town, and of my valet de
“ chambre. Let them carefully examine the disorder of
“ which I die, and the state of all the different parts of my
“ body. I expressly forbid them to separate any part of my
“ body from the other ; care only shall be taken to extract
“ from it as much as possible the water and other humours ;
“ after which let it be very cleanly washed, and covered
“ with my best coat. 3dly. At my death, let new uniforms
“ and hats be given. The next day let my regiment be
“ assembled, and formed in battalions ; the first battalion to
“ front towards the palace, with the right wing to the side of
“ the river at the spot the nearest to the wall ; the second
“ battalion next the first, and the third behind the second.
“ Let them all be complete, and each grenadier have two
“ cartouches. Let crapes be put on the colours, and the
“ drums be covered with black cloth. The fifes and haut-
“ boys shall also be covered with crapes. Each officer shall
“ wear a crape in his hat and on his arm. 4thly. The fu-
“ neral car, which shall be taken from the stables of Berlin,
“ is to be placed opposite to *the green staircase*, with the horses
“ heads towards the river. Eight captains shall convey me
“ to the funeral car ; after which let each of them return to

his

“his division. The same eight captains shall, also, take me
“out of the funeral car, and carry me into the church.
“5thly. As soon as the car advances, the regiment shall
“prepare to march, the drums shall beat the dead march,
“and the hautboys play the well known canticle, *O Haupt
“voll Blut und Wunden*. After this, the funeral car shall ad-
“vance as far as the iron gate. There it shall stop; whilst
“all the regiment files before the car. The first battalion
“shall place itself before the church, the second after it, and,
“next to this, the third. As soon as they have filed, let the
“corpse follow. My two sons William and Henry shall
“remain with the regiment. You, as my eldest son, with
“little Ferdinand, will march in order behind the car, as
“well as all the generals and other officers who shall be pre-
“sent, and who, not being of the regiment, wish to attend
“in the procession. The two chaplains, Cochius and Oef-
“feld, will also follow, because they serve in my regiment.
“6thly. The body shall be carried into the church by the
“eight captains of my regiment whom I have already men-
“tioned, and they shall enter at the door by which I usually
“went into church. On the coffin shall be placed my hand-
“somest parade sword, my finest sash, a pair of gilt spurs,
“and a gilt helmet. All these you will find in the arsenal.
“When the captains shall have carried me into the church
“in the manner I have prescribed, the coffin shall be depo-
“sited a little before the vault, and then the hautboys and
“the organ shall play a piece of music composed by the or-
“ganist Sidon, and during this time the captains who shall
“have carried me are to return to their divisions. The
“generals and some of the staff officers will then be pleased
“to render me some of the last honours, and bear me into the
“vault. Then four cannon, which shall be brought from
“Berlin and placed towards the plantation, shall each of
“them be twelve times discharged one after the other. 7thly.
“I prohibit every funeral oration; but, after the discharge,

“ the battalions shall be broken, the grenadiers shall carry
 “ the colours where you, my son, shall order, and the com-
 “ panies march towards their captains quarters. *Two gros*
 “ shall be distributed to each grenadier, as in the time of the
 “ exercises. 8thly. In the evening you will give an enter-
 “ tainment in the great hall in the garden to all the generals,
 “ to the officers of my regiment, and to the foreign officers
 “ who shall have attended the ceremony. Let the best cask
 “ of Rhenish wine I have in my cellar be broached, and let
 “ nothing but excellent wine be drunk at this repast. 9thly.
 “ Fifteen days afterwards, let a funeral oration be pronoun-
 “ ced on me in all the churches of my dominions; and let
 “ the text be, *Ich habe einen guten Kampf gekämpft* (bonum
 “ certamen certavi), *I have fought a good fight*. Let them
 “ preach on this text in the morning, and then sing the can-
 “ ticle, *Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten*. Let not a word
 “ be spoken of my life, nor of my actions, nor of any thing
 “ personal; but let them tell the people that I died like a
 “ great sinner, and that I asked pardon of God. In general,
 “ in those funeral discourses, I do not wish to be vilified, nor,
 “ on the other hand, do I desire to be commended. 10thly.
 “ Let no mourning cloaths be given to my domestics, they
 “ shall only wear a crape at their hats; and, in other re-
 “ spects, let there be no other ceremony upon my account. I
 “ do not doubt, my dearest son, that you will execute my
 “ last wishes faithfully, and with the greatest exactitude. As
 “ for the rest, I am till death your faithful father and very
 “ affectionate king,

“ FREDERICK-WILLIAM.

“ Potsdam, 29th May, 1740.”

CONTINUATION OF ANECDOTES AND PARTICULARITIES
CONNECTED WITH THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE LIFE
OF FREDERICK II.

DURING the residence of Frederick at Custrin, the president of the chamber made the following report to the king:

"I have the honour to send your majesty three reports of the chamber of war and domains of the New Marche. Two of them are copied by his royal highness the prince of Prussia, and he has only signed the third."

The king wrote in the margin:

"It is not enough for Fritze to sign; he must work."*

The unfortunate de Catt, condemned to lose his head for wishing to accompany Frederick in his travels, was 22 years of age, and lieutenant in the gens d'armes. His father and grandfather were both living. The former was general, and the latter field-marshal general, in the king's service. The king first directed that he should be tried by a council of war. He was condemned by them to imprisonment in a fortress. The vindictive Frederick-William, sensible that, after his death, his son would amply recompense de Catt for this imprisonment, rendered, by the violent interposition of his authority, the punishment of the unhappy young man capital, and pronounced the following sentence:

"Lieutenant de Catt, having been tried by a council of war, has been condemned by the said council to be confined in a fortress. Yet, his majesty does not see why they have pronounced so mild a sentence for so atrocious a crime; and in future he can place little or no confidence in the fidelity of his officers and counsellors. But his

* A diminutive for Frederick.

"majesty

“ majesty has, also, been at school, and learnt the proverb,
 “ *Fiat justitia, et pereat mundus*. Now, that no person may
 “ take upon himself henceforward so to act, and build on
 “ such an example, his majesty finds himself called upon to
 “ pronounce himself the sentence, and to give an example of
 “ justice. His conduct falling under the predicament of
 “ *crimen læsæ majestatis*, the more atrocious as it has been
 “ committed by one of the officers of the army, who should
 “ preserve inviolate their fidelity to his majesty, and, above
 “ all, by an officer of the corps of gens-d’armes, who are ap-
 “ pointed to watch over the personal security of his majesty
 “ and his family, it would not prove a punishment beyond
 “ his guilt to condemn him to be torn with burning pincers,
 “ and then hung upon a gibbet. His majesty, however, from
 “ respect for his family, hath been pleased to admit of a
 “ milder execution, and to condemn him to be beheaded.

“ FREDERICK-WILLIAM.

“ Berlin, 2d November, 1730.”

The queen, all the royal family, the relations of the unfor-
 tunate youth, and several other persons, threw themselves in
 vain at the feet of this king to implore him to grant a pardon
 to the offender. Frederick-William was inflexible. Young
 de Catt wrote to the king, and to his relations, letters which
 it is impossible to read without the strongest emotions of con-
 cern. The sentence was executed at Custrin, the 7th of
 November, in the court of the government. When they
 came to seek Frederick in his prison to lead him to the exe-
 cution of his friend, he had no doubt but that they were
 come to conduct him to execution; for, the officer who
 performed this duty could not suppress his tears. As soon as
 he approached the window under which the scaffold was pre-
 pared, and saw his friend in the hands of the executioner, he
 stretched out his arms towards him, crying, “ *Catt ! Catt !* ”
 and instantly fainted away.

Never did prince, perhaps, receive a more useful lesson.

Fre-

Frederick II. during the remainder of his life, considered capital punishments with a degree of horror. They were very rare in *his* reign.

Frederick has glanced at this event in his *Memoirs of Brandenburg*; in which he speaks thus of his father:

“Austere in his manners, rigorous respecting those of others, a severe observer of military discipline, governing his state by the same laws with which he governed his army, he entertained such favourable ideas of human nature, as to pretend that all his subjects were as stoical as himself. . . . We have passed over in silence the domestic troubles of this great prince. Some indulgence is due to the faults of the children in favour of the virtues of such a father.”

Might we not now say, “*We must pardon the severity of the father in favour of the virtues of such a son.*”

When the emperor had succeeded, by the means of Seckendorf, in his application to prevent Frederick from being put to death, the king remarked in a rage, “*Austria will one day see what a serpent she has nourished in her bosom.*”

Voltaire accuses Frederick of ingratitude towards Seckendorf, who had saved his life, and describes him as having drawn the character of his preserver in hideous colours. The following quotations may unravel the principal cause of the hatred he conceived against this count.

Extract of a Letter from Frederick, then Prince Royal, to Subm, dated the 13th of November, 1737.

“You will be informed, doubtless, of the fall of Seckendorf; a just punishment for all the wicked actions he has committed. In the end, he has his turn, and, after having long been the idol of fortune, is become the prey of his enemies in his old-age. He is accused of acts of guilt which, howsoever horrible, are all founded in probability, because not deviating from the nature of his disposition. He is
“charged

“ charged with having suffered the whole Imperial army to
 “ suffer want, to gratify his sordid avarice. There is no
 “ species of exaction that is not imputed to him. His ene-
 “ mies throw on him the bad success of the last campaign,
 “ and the priesthood animate the devotees against him on
 “ account of his religion. After all, I am sorry for him. It
 “ is true that a continual prosperity had rendered Seckendorf
 “ intolerably haughty ; *it is true, likewise, that all the unea-*
 “ *siness he has occasioned me merited retribution.*”

We read in a work attributed to Frederick :

“ The king, seduced by the invitations of Seckendorf,
 “ went to Prague to visit the emperor. He brought back no-
 “ thing but the regret of having afforded, in his own person,
 “ the spectacle of an inferior who goes to wait upon his su-
 “ perior ; of having discovered the absolute inefficacy of all
 “ the promises which he received ; and of having listened to
 “ *the project of marrying his son to the niece of the empress.*”

He thus paints the same Seckendorf, in the Memoirs of the
 House of Brandenburg :

“ Soon after the accession of George the Second to the
 “ throne (1727), count Seckendorf came to Berlin. He
 “ served, as a general, both the emperor and Saxony at the
 “ same time. He was sordidly interested : his manners were
 “ gross and rustic. Lying was so habitual with him, that he
 “ had lost the usage of speaking truth. His was the soul of
 “ an usurer, passing sometimes into the body of a soldier,
 “ sometimes into that of a negociator. This was the per-
 “ sonage, however, whom Providence made use of to break
 “ the treaty of Hanover (1727). He gained an ascendancy
 “ over the king (Frederick-William) with such address, that
 “ he prevailed on him to sign, at Wusterhausen, a treaty with
 “ the emperor,” &c.

Frederick-William, who confined his son almost within a
 state of military discipline, put him, sometimes, under arrest ;
 and

and forbade all persons to give him any thing but bread and water. A cook, who took pity on him, and hoped, doubtless, to receive a handsome reward, sent him regularly provisions of a more luxurious nature. He was deceived in his expectations. When Frederick mounted the throne, the cook was the very first of his father's servants whom he dismissed, for not having executed his orders with fidelity. It is pretended, however, that he rewarded him in another way; but, *how*, remains hitherto a secret.

When the prince was under arrest, the officer appointed to watch him had orders to take the light out of his room as soon as the clock struck eight; his father, who knew his taste for study, meaning, thus, to augment his punishment. At eight o'clock the officer appears. The prince earnestly entreats him to let the light remain half an hour longer, to give him time to finish the reading a book which he held in his hand. "No," replied the officer, "I cannot." He extinguished the candle; but immediately lighted it again, saying, "I am ordered to blow it out, but am not forbidden to re-light it." When Frederick came to the throne, this officer received no recompense. He thought with reason, that a man, capable of thus eluding the orders of his father, would not shew more fidelity in obeying his commands upon a similar occasion. This reasoning, however, was not perfectly conclusive in favour of those persons who had exposed themselves to punishment for the purpose of affording him pleasure.

Under the present reign we have seen a similar example of political disgrace. Frederick had given orders that the prince royal, now reigning, should know nothing of the affairs of the cabinet. Yet, of all these affairs, a person ventured to inform the prince. At the commencement of his reign, he gave him a most brilliant recompense; but, the king soon apprehended that he should be but ill obeyed by a man who
could

could be wanting in his duty to a king to whom he owed his whole fortune.

Frederick passing a few days at Bonn with his father, the Elector Clement Augustus, of the house of Bavaria, treated them with all possible magnificence. Amongst other entertainments a ball was given. Frederick-William was always very ill dressed; because he wore his uniform as long as he could, and even when he got a new coat retained the buttons belonging to the old coat which he threw aside. The prince was not much more elegantly equipped; he was also very melancholy, and took no pleasure in all these amusements. This was noticed by the king, who asked him the reason of it, and why he did not dance. Frederick cast a look at his coat, which was threadbare. But the king, hurried away by the violence of his ungovernable temper, struck the prince a blow on the face, in the presence of all the company, and pushed him into the middle of the room, exclaiming, "*Go! this instant!*" Tears streamed from the prince's eyes, but he was obliged to take out a lady in the dance.

Frederick-William, who was very avaricious, gave but little money to prince Frederick his son; a circumstance which compelled the latter to have frequent recourse to loans. When he mounted the throne, he did not pay his debts, but, on the contrary, observed to the different claimants, "*I will teach you to lend money to a prince royal!*" Some of those who had supplied him, had places bestowed on them; or were otherwise indemnified; but many of them lost all.

Towards the end of his father's reign, Mr. de Suhm negotiated loans for him in Russia, from the duke of Biron, the favourite of the empress Anne. The following fragments of letters are relative to this transaction.

From

From Mr. Subm to the Prince Royal, dated March 21, 1738.

“ You will receive a remittance in the month of May, apparently for the same sum as the last year. You may judge of the duke’s desire to serve you ; for this is an extraordinary exertion, he having an alarming load of debts to pay for his predecessors. It is true, he has a great resource (the empress). It is there, doubtless, we must have recourse in future. She is well disposed to it. She has a real love and esteem for you, and will have a pleasure in serving you, persuaded that amongst persons of the same rank, and who think nobly, they may assist each other without ill consequences. The only question is respecting the manner of doing it. She does not wish to offer you these resources, that you may not think she requires of you any other sentiments than those she conceives she merits in other respects. I could not but commend this delicacy, and at the same time gave the portrait of your character, which has convinced her that you think as greatly as herself. She wishes you to write her a word in German ; this I protested was impossible, though she gave me her honour to return your letter as soon as she had read it. To this I answered, that I would propose to you to leave the affair to me, as if it were in my own name. If you have no scruple, therefore, on the subject, send me a signed memoir, or letter, by which you entrust me with the transaction ; but, advise me very seriously to conduct myself with the utmost prudence, so as to leave an opening for no improper interpretation ; expressly reserving to yourself the right of censuring me, should you find yourself in the smallest degree committed in the affair, or should the slightest irregularity arise, as you have made it a law with yourself never to hazard any measure that may even in appearance be not perfectly conformable to your glory and your duty, nay even to decorum. You will terminate
“ the

“ the letter by a few gracious expressions towards the duke,
 “ and by assurances of your confidence in me,” &c.

Answer of the Prince Royal.

“ Your letter has so embarrassed me, that I have taken
 “ time to answer it. I cannot resolve to adopt the proposals
 “ you make. The idea of begging money is diametrically
 “ opposite to my way of thinking. Could I have remained
 “ on the same footing with the duke, I would have accepted
 “ the offer : but, the difference is very great. I may incur
 “ obligations to a duke ; but judge of the consequences to-
 “ wards an empress. I am short of cash. The price of re-
 “ cruits is augmented, and I must have them. Give me good
 “ advice, and I will let you know my resolution on my re-
 “ turn from Wesel, the 1st of August. I rely on your
 “ friendship and fidelity. Adieu.”

In the sequel the prince became less scrupulous, and wrote
 as follows to the same Suhm, the 2d December, 1739 :

“ I will write to the empress as soon as you have sent me
 “ the model of the letter with the papers. I must have 24
 “ thousand crowns a year. If you succeed, you will deduct
 “ two thousand annually for yourself. Let the bargain be
 “ concluded, if possible, towards the month of April.”

When Mr. de Suhm was sent to Russia as ambassador from
 the court of Dresden, Frederick wrote to him the following
 letter :

“ 25th November, 1736.

“ Permit me to tell you, that your court has committed
 “ a mistake in chusing you to succeed the count de Linar.
 “ For that barbarous court, they must have men who drink
 “ deeply, and are, in the fullest *practical* extent of the words,
 “ admirers of the fair sex.* I do not think you will discover
 “ yourself in either of these features,” &c. &c.

* The editors of Mr. de Suhm's Letters remark, that this court has
 greatly changed in half a century.

One Deschamps, a French ecclesiastic at Rheinsberg, who had been a disciple of Wolf, thought proper to translate the logic of that philosopher, and dedicate it to the prince royal. Suhm, whom Frederick had engaged to translate Wolf, grew rather jealous on this occasion, and, in some degree, complained to the prince. Frederick, who never liked priests, did not want Suhm's insinuations to prejudice him against Deschamps. He answered Suhm in these words :

"I own to you, that the dedicatory epistle of M. Deschamps appeared to me very flat. Is it sufferable thus to throw incense in the face of any one, and to praise a person whom you profess not to know? Is not this pronouncing the eulogium of a hero of romance, of an imaginary being, which has no reality but in the brain of the author? . . . When the translator sent it to me, I ordered him to be thanked for the fine work he had been pleased to dedicate to me, but gave him, at the same time, to understand, that, sensible of the good intentions he had manifested in his dedication, I thought it would be repaying him with ingratitude, did I not plainly tell him, that I wished, for his own sake, he had changed the dedicatory epistle." The poor priest took these marks of the prince royal's gratitude very ill ; he had expected a less philosophic recompense for his commendations. To revenge himself, he endeavoured to turn into ridicule the men of letters whom Frederick honoured with his confidence. In 1740, Voltaire being arrived at Berlin, Deschamps drew his portrait in a literary work which he then published, and gave him the most hideous and most ridiculous features. The king did not disdain to enter the lists even against so puny an antagonist as Deschamps, and fight him with the weapons which this author employed against his friends. He had a comedy, written by himself, performed in his palace, in which poor Deschamps was not spared. In one of the scenes, a bookseller in his warehouse is naming the books which had a good sale; then,

pointing to a huge pile of volumes, he says: *That is Descamps' Philosophy, I sell it by the yard.* Descamps was weak enough so far to feel this wretched royal pleasantry, as to quit Berlin without offering a single sentence in reply. He died at London in 1760:

The prince royal wrote to Mr. Suhm in 1736:

“ I fancy you will not be sorry to hear a word or two of
 “ our rural amusements ; for, with the persons who are dear
 “ to us, we love to enter into the minutest details. We
 “ have divided our occupations into two classes, the first of
 “ useful, and the second of agreeable pursuits. In the rank of
 “ useful I place the study of philosophy, of history, and lan-
 “ guages ; the agreeable are, music, the tragedies and co-
 “ medies we represent, the masquerades, and presents which
 “ we offer. Serious occupations, however, have always the
 “ prerogative of superceding the others, and I venture to as-
 “ sure you, that we only make a reasonable use of pleasures,
 “ applying them solely to divert the mind and attemper the
 “ moroseness and too great gravity of philosophy, which
 “ does not easily suffer the graces to unbend the brow. The
 “ wretched condition of manhood obliges us to pass by a very
 “ narrow path, on each side of which are precipices called
 “ *abuses*. There is excess of wisdom, and excess of folly.
 “ They are each of them alike ridiculous ; and, to keep out
 “ of a madhouse, we should be careful to avoid both ex-
 “ tremes, mixing jests with seriousness, and pleasures with
 “ austerity.”

In another letter, he demands from him details respecting the government of Russia. Two men then occupied his attention, Peter the First, and Charles XII. “ I wish to know,” said he,

“ 1st. If, at the commencement of the reign of the Czar Peter I. the Muscovites were as savage as they have been represented ?

2dly. What

2dly. What leading and useful changes did the Czar make in religion ?

3dly. In the government, as far as relates to general police ?

4thly. In the military art ?

5thly. In commerce ?

6thly. What useful public works are begun ? What finished ? What projected ? such as communications between seas, canals, ships, edifices, cities, &c. ?

7thly. What progress in the sciences ? What establishments ? and What advantage derived from them ?

8thly. What colonies have been sent ? and What succours to begin with ?

9thly. In what have the dresses, manners, and customs, changed ?

10thly. Is Muscovy more populous than formerly ?

11thly. What is the number of its inhabitants, and, particularly, of its priests ?

12thly. How much money ?”

Mr. de Suhm having observed to the prince royal, that, were he to retain only the half of his elevated sentiments, he would still be a great king. The prince replied, “ Were I to become capable of admitting a change in my present opinions, I should almost sink into despair ; but this mere remark can prove but little as to what may happen to me in future.

“ Tell brille au second rang qui s'éclipse au premier,”

Second in rank, he darts the blazing ray,

Who cannot, in the first, one beam display.

Beloved as the prince royal was by the foldiers of his regiment, it, naturally, followed, that he never dreaded their entertaining an inclination to desert. The king, to whom scarcely one of these was not known, discovered that two

fine fellows, who were Swifs, had absented themselves. Enquiring the cause of this from the prince, the latter answered, " They solicited a furlow ; and, in their request, they manifested so ardent an inclination to revisit their native country, that I could not meet it with a refusal." The king became exasperated, and reproached the prince for having suffered these soldiers to depart, when there was no likelihood of their returning. Frederick, on the contrary, expressed his firm assurance that they would come back ; and the event soon justified his declaration. They not only rejoined the regiment at the immediately ensuing review, but brought with them some excellent recruits.

When the prince royal was appointed to the command of the regiment of Golz, he desired his father to change the lace of the officers uniforms from gold to silver. The king consented. As soon as the new uniforms were made, the prince invited all the officers to assemble in a meadow near Rupin, where he sometimes became a party in their various diversions. Here they found a large fire lighted, placed themselves round it, and partook of the refreshments prepared for them by Frederick. When they began to be a little jovial, the prince royal said, "*Gentlemen, since we are all met together, let us pay the last honours to the uniform of the regiment of Golz.*" In uttering these words, he stripped off his coat and waistcoat, and threw them, with his hat, into the fire. All the officers, howsoever reluctantly, were obliged to follow the example. Nor did the frolic end here. The king with a penknife cutting away the cloth of his breeches until only the lining remained, threw the former into the fire. The officers were quite embarrassed, but felt the necessity of following the example of the prince, though it cost some of them a blush for the linings, which were not in the very best plight. The sacrifice took place amidst a profound silence, not unaccompanied by marks of shame ; but, at length, they

all

all burst into a loud fit of laughter, and when they had sufficiently diverted themselves, Frederick sent for the new cloaths.

Whilst Frederick remained in exile at Custrin, he was as passionately fond of shooting as his father. His employment of counsellor of war and inspector of the domains, obliged him, from time to time, to visit some towns and villages. He always travelled in a chaise, and usually with his fowling-piece. In one of these expeditions he let his glove fall, and stooping to pick it up, accidentally touched the gun, which went off, and the shot passed through his hat and grazed his ear. Frightened at the danger which he had experienced, he leaped out of the chaise, broke his gun, for which he had given a considerable price, against a tree, and took an oath which, thenceforward, he maintained inviolable, to relinquish, for all the rest of his life, the diversion of shooting.

(15) Jordan was named a privy counsellor, but he had sufficient employment given him to make him earn his pension. Kayserling was made a colonel and aide-de-camp, and obliged to apply seriously to the necessary knowledge of his art. Chasot had a corps of chasseurs. Each, in short, was provided with employments which were, apparently, the best calculated to draw out with advantage their several abilities.

Suhm, who was in Russia, was recalled; but he died, in his return, at Warsaw. He recommended to the king his four children, and his sister, who had attended them like a second mother since his widowhood. Frederick sent for them to Berlin, and took care of them.

The eldest of Suhm's sons, when a lieutenant in the king's service, lost his leg at the battle of Prague. The king then made him post-master at Dessau, in which town he died in 1783, leaving three sons ensigns in the Prussian army. On his death-bed he recommended them to the king, who answered:

"It is with much concern I learn, by your letter of the 12th, that your last moments are approaching. The name of Suhm is, indeed, very dear to me. I have known some of that family who distinguished themselves by their merit, and conciliated my esteem. Your father and you are of that number, and your sons shall equally partake of it, if they tread in their footsteps, and imitate their example. I am happy to give you this consoling testimonial before you quit the theatre of this world, on which you have acted the part of a truly honest man; a part the most glorious of any in which it is possible for mankind to engage. With these sentiments, I pray to GOD for your recovery, and implore him to consider your deserts, and take you into his holy keeping.

FREDERICK.

"Potsdam, 16 May, 1783."

Suhm expired before his widow received this letter. She stood in need of something more substantial than the *honourable testimonials* the king gave to the probity of her husband; for, there is no living on the compliments of kings. She wrote an affecting letter to the monarch, to beg his assistance in the education of her family. He replied:

"The intelligence of the death of your husband, the post-master at Dessau, gave me great concern. Of this the last letter I wrote to him on his death-bed will already have informed you. I esteemed him for his merit, as well as for the services he rendered me in the military and civil line, for which reasons, were there no other, I sincerely share your loss. Your sons, if they pursue the footsteps of their father, will, at a proper time and place, partake

"of

"of my beneficence and protection. As for yourself, I wish
 "you every necessary consolation in your just sorrow; pray-
 "ing God to have you in his holy keeping, &c.

"FREDERICK."

(16) It was the minister Reinbeck, counsellor of the consistory, who was employed to write to Wolf to invite him to return under the preceding reign. To him, likewise, Frederick addressed himself in the following letter:

"My dear counsellor Reinbeck,

"You have only to write once more to Wolf, the counsellor of regency, and ask him, whether he will not now enter into my service. Assure him of reasonable terms.

"I am your affectionate king,

"FREDERICK."

Beneath was written in the king's own hand:

"I beg you to do every thing in your power on the subject of Wolf. The man who adores truth, and searches after her, should be precious in all human societies. In her country you will have obtained a conquest, should you engage him to return.

"6 June, 1740.

FREDERICK."

Though Frederick professed the highest admiration of Wolf, and wrote letters to him full of eulogium, he sometimes amused himself at his expence, and called him a compiler of nonsense.

On his accession to the throne, he wrote to Suhm to bring likewise with him *Euler*, one of the most learned mathematicians in Europe, and then in the service of Russia.

"Bring Euler, if you can," are the words of his letter. "He shall have a thousand or twelve hundred crowns pension."

(17) The following affair occupied the king at the commencement of his reign. William, landgrave of Hesse

Cassel, in quality of count of Hanau, had some differences with the elector of Mayence. The latter, attempting to make use of an unjust violence, the landgrave applied to the king, demanding his protection. The 19th of June, 1740, the king wrote a letter to the elector, requiring him to cease from hostilities, and declaring that he was ready, in case of need, to assist the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who was attached to his house by compacts of fraternity. This letter produced the effect, the elector adopted milder and more Christian sentiments, and every thing was amicably adjusted.

(18) A taylor of Strasbourg, of whom the king had ordered some cloaths in the French fashion, learning that the pretended count was the king of Prussia, refused to receive his money, saying, "that he was too amply paid by the honour
" of having worked for his majesty."

The king wrote a journal of this expedition, half prose and half verse, nearly in the style of *Bachaumont* and *La Chapelle*. The following passages are given us by Voltaire:

" After frightful roads, we met with still more hideous
" accommodations.

" Car des hôtes intéressés,
De la faim nous voyant pressés,
Dans une chaumière infernale ;
En nous empoisonnant nous volaient nos écus.
O siècle différent du tems de Lucullus ! "

Vile selfishness inflam'd the landlord's breast,
As, in his hellish hut, he found a guest
By raging hunger's pangs severely prest. }
When bills for poison'd meats our purses drain,
Lucullus ! mark the contrast to *thy* reign !

" Alarming roads, bad eating, and horrid liquor ; this was
" not all, we suffered many other accidents, and our equipage
" must certainly have been very singular, for at every place
" we passed through they mistook us for other persons.

“ Les uns nous prenaient pour des rois,
 D'autres pour des filoux courtois,
 D'autres pour gens de connoissance ;
 Par fois le peuple s'attroupaît,
 Entre les yeux nous regardait,
 En badaux curieux remplis d'impertinence.”

These deem us kings ; and civil sharpeners *those* ;
 Whilst some, of varying sentiments, suppose
 That we are men with knowledge deep endu'd.
 By gaping crouds still insolently view'd,
 And mark'd as victims for the gen'ral stare,
 We sit, whilst all the fools their thoughts declare.

“ The post-master at Kehl, assuring us that there was no
 “ salvation without a passport, and seeing that circumstances
 “ rendered it necessary either to forge one ourselves, or not
 “ to enter Strasbourg, we were constrained to adopt the for-
 “ mer plan ; in which the Prussian arms I had on my seal
 “ was of admirable service. We arrived at Strasbourg, and
 “ the custom-house corsair and visitor seemed satisfied with
 “ our proofs.

“ Ces scélérats nous épiaient,
 D'un œil le passe-port lisaient,
 De l'autre lorgnaient notre bourse ;
 L'or qui toujours fut de ressource,
 Par lequel Jupin jouissait,
 De Danaë qu'il caressait ;
 L'or par qui César gouvernait
 Le monde heureux sous son empire ;
 L'or plus Dieu que Mars & l'amour,
 Le même or fut nous introduire
 Le soir dans les murs de Strasbourg,” &c.

These vile and mercenary spies
 Made ample use of both their eyes.
 With *this*, they on the passport gaz'd ;
That to the lifted purse was rais'd.
 O ! never-failing Pow'r of Gold !
 For Thee ! to Jove was Beauty sold !

The

The rich Rain drown'd bright Virtue's charms,
 And Danaë resign'd its arms.
 By Thee! did Cæsar hold his sway,
 And make the happy world obey.
 With Thee! whose force is far above
 The lance of Mars, or dart of Love!
 When night had quench'd th' illumin'd ray,
 Through Strasbourg's gates we *bought* our way.

(19) The picture Voltaire gives of the condition in which he found the king near Cleves, is, perhaps, somewhat exaggerated; but the ground-work is certainly exact, and characterizes the simplicity of this prince, who did every thing himself, and did not spoil his ministers.

"From Strasbourg," adds Voltaire, "he went to see his
 "states in Lower Germany, and informed me that he should
 "come *incognito* to visit me at Brussels. We prepared a
 "handsome house for him; but the king, becoming indis-
 "posed in the little palace of Meuse, two leagues from
 "Cleves, he wrote word that he expected I should make the
 "first advances. I went, therefore, to render him my most
 "humble homage. Maupertuis, who already had his views,
 "and who longed, almost to distraction, for the post of pre-
 "sident of an academy, presented himself of his own accord,
 "and lodged with Algarotti and Kayserling in a garret of
 "this palace. The only guard I found at the gate was one
 "soldier. The privy counsellor Rambonet was cooling
 "his heels in the court; he had large ruffles of dirty linen,
 "a hat full of holes, an old magisterial peruke, one end of
 "which descended as low as his pockets, and the other
 "scarcely reached his shoulder. I was told (and truly told)
 "that this man was employed in an affair of great im-
 "portance.

"I was conducted into his majesty's apartment, where
 "there was nothing but the bare walls. I perceived in a ca-
 "binet, by the glimmering of a taper, a truckle bed, two
 "feet and a half wide, on which lay a little man muffled up

"in

“in a night gown of coarse blue cloth. This was the king
“in a strong perspiration, and even trembling under a
“wretched blanket in a violent fit of the ague. I bowed
“to him, and began by feeling his pulse, as if I had been his
“first physician. The fit over, he dressed himself and sat
“down to table. Algarotti, Kayserling, Maupertuis, the
“king’s minister to the States General, and myself, were of the
“party, where we conversed profoundly on the immortality
“of the soul, on liberty, and the androgines of Plato.

“Counsellor Rambonet, in the mean while, had mounted
“a hack horse, travelled all night, and the next day arrived
“at the gates of Liege, and presented a memorial in the name
“of the king his master; whilst two thousand men from
“Wesel were laying that country under contribution.”

(20) The news of the death of the emperor Charles VI. arrived at Rheinsberg whilst the king was in bed, and in a fever. His courtiers, who knew that he was looking with ardour to the consequences of this death, and were no strangers to the vivacity of his temperament, dreaded lest this intelligence might prove injurious to his health. They deliberated a long time on the manner of announcing it to him, and at length determined to entrust his valet-de-chambre with the commission. He took a great many precautions to prepare the king, but they soon saw they were deceived, and that there was no necessity for all these apprehensions. It produced no change in his countenance, no variation in his features. He read the letters of his envoy at Vienna, and made his attendants repeat the circumstances the courier had related of his death. After this he rose, and wrote to general Schwerin, and count Podewils, his minister for foreign affairs, to come to Rheinsberg. He had secret conferences with them; and immediate preparations were made for war. The enigma appeared the more inexplicable, as Frederick II. was the

the first to acknowledge Maria-Theresa, the eldest daughter of the emperor, as legitimate heiress of all the Austrian dominions. He even assured the court of Vienna in writing, that he was resolved, as he had promised, to guaranty the pragmatic sanction. At the same time he commanded that 30,000 men should hold themselves in readiness to march, and he levied recruits on all sides. None of his generals or ministers knew one word of his project.

(21) The following instructions which he gave count de Gotter may supply us with an idea of the manner in which this prince treated foreign affairs through the medium of his ambassadors :

“ You are to acquaint the court at which you reside, 1st,
 “ That I am ready, with all my forces, to guaranty the do-
 “ minions possessed by the house of Austria in Germany,
 “ against whosoever shall attack them. 2dly, That I will
 “ enter, on this head, into a close alliance with the courts
 “ of Vienna and Russia, and the maritime powers. 3dly,
 “ That I will employ all my credit to obtain the Imperial
 “ dignity for the duke of Lorraine, and maintain his election
 “ *contra quoscunque*. I may even add, without risking too
 “ much, that I have no doubt of succeeding in it. 4thly,
 “ To put the court you are at in good order and a posture
 “ of defence, I will supply it, in the first instance, with two
 “ millions of florins. You are sensible, that for such essen-
 “ tial services I have a right to a proportionate recompense,
 “ and a proper security to indemnify me for all risks, and for
 “ the part I am willing to undertake. In a word, it is the
 “ entire and total cession of all Silesia that I demand, as the
 “ price of my labours, and the hazards I am willing to incur
 “ in the career upon which I am about to enter, for the pre-
 “ servation and glory of the house of Austria.

“ FREDERICK.”

(22) Louis

(22) Louis de Halle, chancellor of the king of Prussia, had the reputation of discovering, explaining, changing, and even fabricating titles.

(23) The marquis de Beauveau, sent to compliment Frederick, imagined he was going to declare against France, in favour of Maria-Theresa; to support the election of Francis of Lorraine, the queen's husband; and, from all these circumstances, probably to derive the most advantageous consequences. He was confirmed in this opinion from a political piece which the king had written in his usual manner, and sent three months before to Voltaire, wherein he considered France as the natural enemy and ravager of Germany.

He set out for Silesia the 15th of December, although then under the attack of a quartan ague. On mounting his horse, he said to the marquis de Beauveau, "*I am preparing to play your game; if aces turn up, we will go halves.*"

He has since written the history of this conquest, which he shewed complete to Voltaire, who transcribed the following passages:

"Added to the considerations of troops always ready for action; my coffers well filled, and the vivacity of my character, were reasons for my making war with Maria-Theresa, queen of Hungary and Bohemia"

"Ambition, interest, the desire of being spoken of, carried the point, and war was determined."

Voltaire expunged this passage in correcting the work.

The troops being assembled near Crossen, the king put himself at the head of the army, and addressed the generals and officers as follows:

"Gentlemen,

"I do not look upon you as my subjects, but as my friends.

"The troops of Brandenburg have been always distinguished for their bravery, and have given proofs of their courage

"on

“on many occasions. I shall be present at all your expectations. You will engage under my eyes, and I will recompense, not only as a father, but as a sovereign, all those who shall distinguish themselves by their zeal for my service.”

(24) Voltaire, being one day at Potzdam, leaning on a marble table, said, in speaking of the king, “He resembles that table, *hard and polished*.”

This politeness of Frederick was almost wholly confined to foreigners, and persons from whom he expected some services, or whom it was his interest to conciliate. In general, he was very fond of turning others into ridicule, of shewing them his superiority, and he frequently said point blank the harshest things to persons who did not merit them. Several examples of this will be given in his private life.

(25) The king distributed money to the soldiers who were present at this action, and wrote the following letter to prince Leopold :

“I thank you a thousand times for the brilliant enterprise which you have just executed, and which will immortalize your name. On this occasion, my gratitude will prove eternal, redoubling the friendship which I had conceived for you. I salute prince Charles, and all our brave officers. Tell them from me, that I never will forget them, and that on every occasion I shall take care to advance them in preference to others.

“FREDERICK.”

(26) Frederick considered discipline and subordination as essential in the conduct of an army. With a susceptible heart, he committed, in order to establish or preserve these qualities, actions which to many persons will appear cruel. But, when he was once persuaded of the necessity of a measure, and had formed

formed his plan, he stifled in his breast every sentiment which might oppose its execution.

In the first war of Silesia, wishing to make some alterations in his camp, during the night, he forbade every person, under pain of death, to keep, after a certain hour, a fire or other light in his tent. He went himself the rounds. In passing the tent of captain Zietern, he perceived a light. He enters, and finds the captain employed in sealing a letter he had just been writing to his wife, whom he loved tenderly. "*What are you doing there?*" says the king; "*Do not you know the order?*" Zietern throws himself on his knees, and begs pardon, but neither could nor would attempt to deny his fault. "*Sit down,*" says the king, "*and add to your letter a few words I am going to dictate to you.*" The officer obeys, and the king dictates, "*To-morrow I shall perish on a scaffold.*" Zietern wrote them, and, the next day, was executed.

(27) The king, who thought the battle lost, had fled as far as Oppeln. An Austrian hussar pursued, and was on the point of coming up with him, when the king suddenly turns about his horse, lets the hussar approach, and says to him, "*Make no attempts upon my person, and you shall find me grateful.*" The hussar, knowing the king again, from the portraits he had seen of him, is seized with respect and astonishment; he drops his sabre, and replies, "*A bargain, after the war.*" "*At our next meeting,*" says the king.— This hussar was afterwards lieutenant-general in the Prussian service, commanded a regiment of hussars, and was a knight of the grand order of Prussia. He was named Paul Werner.

(28) Marshal Schwerin entered into the service of Prussia in 1720, in quality of major-general. He had been in the service of Holland and of the duke of Mecklenbourg, and learnt the art of war in the Low Countries and Germany, under

under Marlborough and Eugene. He was wounded at this battle.

(29) After the battle, an Austrian general wrote a letter, wherein he thus expresses himself respecting the Prussians :

“ I never in my life saw any troops so excellent as the Prussian army. They observe a marvellous order in battle. Their ranks and lines were so well closed, and their evolutions were performed with such equality and precision, that you would have said they were at exercise on the parade. Their fire was so prompt and so equal, that it resembled claps of thunder.”

Frederick was concealed in a mill near Ratibor, on the confines of Poland. He was in despair, stretched on a truckle-bed; when one of his chasseurs arrived from the camp of Molwitz and announced to him the victory. This news was confirmed a quarter of an hour after by an aide-de-camp. Wits have repeated on this occasion what was said of a French general, who had likewise hid himself in a mill during a battle wherein his troops were victorious : *He has covered himself with glory---and with flour.*

Maupertuis had followed the king to the battle of Molwitz, not upon an ass, as Voltaire says, but on horseback. He ascended a tree for the purpose of viewing the battle. Whilst he was occupied in observing the two armies, a party of Austrian hussars advanced full speed towards the spot where he was stationed. The poor academician, shivering with fear, descended from the tree, and mounted his horse to make his escape; but the animal, which had belonged to an hussar, no sooner perceived the enemy's troop than he set off in a gallop, in spite of the president's efforts, to rejoin his comrades. The hussars, seeing the poor academician trembling with terror, stripped him of the green coat he had on, took his watch, his ring, and silver snuff box, and covered him with

one of their ragged cloaks. Luckily he was known by the prince de Lichtenstein, who had seen him at Paris, and released him from the hussars. (See the following note.)

After this battle, the king said, in a letter to the prince of Anhalt, "*I have neither eaten nor slept these two days.*"

(30.) Maria-Theresa returned the king's attention to the bishop of Silesia, by sending him back Maupertuis, the president of his academy.

(31.) Extract of the preliminaries.

Art. I. There shall be an inviolable peace between the king and the empress.

II. The two contracting parties shall give no succour to the enemies of each other, nor form any alliance with them contrary to these preliminaries, nor comply even with those formerly made in as far as they may be contrary to the present engagements; and they shall endeavour to divert as much as possible, except by way of arms, the damage which either the one or the other of the two parties is, or may be, threatened with by any other power.

III. There shall be a general amnesty on both sides.

IV. All hostilities shall cease on one side and the other, reckoning from the day of the signing these preliminaries; and in sixteen days afterwards the king's troops shall retire into the countries under his domination.

V. The empress cedes to the king Upper and Lower Silesia, excepting the principality of Teschen, the town of Troppau, what lies beyond the river of Oppau, and the high mountains in Upper Silesia; as well as the seigniory of Hennerdorf, and other districts forming a part of Moravia, though lying within the boundaries of Upper Silesia.

The empress cedes also to the king the county of Glatz, with the town and castle, in entire sovereignty and independence.

On his side, the king renounces in perpetuity all pretensions which he either might have had, or may have, against the queen of Hungary and Bohemia.

VI. The king shall leave the catholic religion in Silesia in *statu quo*.

VII. The king takes upon himself the sole payment of the sums due to the English merchants on the mortgage of Silesia.

VIII. All the prisoners on both sides shall be set free without ransom, and all contributions shall cease at the same time.

IX. Every point respecting commerce shall be regulated in the future treaty of peace.

X. The formal treaty shall be signed in four weeks at the latest.

XI. The king of England, the empress of Russia, the king of Denmark, the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, the house of Wolfenbuttel, the elector of Saxony, shall be comprehended in these preliminaries, on condition that, in sixteen days after the signature of the preliminaries shall be announced to the king, he shall withdraw his troops from the French army, from Bohemia, and the other countries belonging to the queen of Hungary and Bohemia.

XII. The exchange of ratifications shall be made at Breslaw in eight or ten days, reckoning from the day of the signature.

(32.) In the treaty of peace, the articles of the preliminary treaty are expressed in greater detail, besides the following:

Art. VIII. Commissioners shall be named on each side to regulate the commerce between their reciprocal states and subjects, matters remaining on the same footing as before the present war, until it be otherwise agreed on.

IX. The

IX. The king promises to pay the sums borrowed on Silesia of the subjects of England and Holland, and the queen takes upon herself the sums due to the inhabitants of Brabant on Silesia.

XI. The queen of Hungary and Bohemia shall make the states of Bohemia renounce every claim of *relief* on the states, towns, and districts of the house of Brandenburg.

XII. The queen engages to oblige the states of Bohemia to renounce all the dominions of the crown of Bohemia, ceded to the king by this treaty.

Some time before the conclusion of this peace, it is pretended that the king was informed that the court of France had made private propositions of peace to the queen of Hungary, and that the generals had orders to risk nothing, and not to join the Prussians. The peace concluded by the king, therefore, was considered as one stroke of art to anticipate another. It is imagined that the king made this discovery through Pallant, an Austrian general. A letter from Breslaw, dated the 8th July, 1743, speaks of it thus :

“ The king of Prussia, having been to pay a visit to general Pallant, who was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Chotusitz ; this general, in the conversations he had with his majesty, suffered it to escape him, that he should die contented, could he but reconcile his majesty with the queen ; assuring the king, at the same time, that he would infallibly be the dupe of France, of which he spoke with the most certain conviction.

“ The king feigned incredulity, and said he had proofs to the contrary. General Pallant instantly replied, that what he advanced was so true, that he only demanded six days to convince the king of it ; and that her majesty had already been too generous to accept the propositions of the cardinal. The king took him at his word, and retired.

“ The Austrian general immediately dispatched a courier express to Vienna, who returned in a few days. Mr.

“ Pallant acquainted the king with it, who came to see him.
 “ At this visit, after a few compliments, the baron de Pallant gave him a letter, desiring him to read it with attention. The monarch turned pale in reading it. It was a letter from cardinal de Fleury to the queen of Hungary, in which his eminence offered to this princess, that the king of France should guaranty Silesia and Moravia to her, if she would cede Bohemia to the emperor with a part of Upper Austria.”

The king of Prussia, after reading this letter, asked the general if he might keep it a few days. Pallant consented. The king, on his return home, said, in presence of some of his generals, “ *The cardinal takes me for a fool, he wants to cheat me, but I’ll settle that matter.*” His majesty gave immediate orders to count Podewils, his first minister, to treat of peace with lord Hyndford.

As soon as the king had received the general’s promise of the letter, he announced his victory to the marshal de Broglie in the following terms :

“ At length, Monsieur le Marechal, I am upon a par with my allies. My troops have just gained a complete victory. It is for you now to profit by it, without which you may have to answer for it to your allies. I pray God, M. le Marechal, to preserve you. *Fédéric* *.” The style of this letter greatly surprised M. de Broglie, and gave great uneasiness to marshal Belleisle. But this was doubled on seeing an English courier arrive, whom Mr. de Chevert, commandant at Prague, had apprehended in passing through that town, and sent to the head quarters. This courier, being interrogated, answered that he came from Vienna, and that there, as well as in the king of Prussia’s camp, through which he had passed, peace was looked upon as certain between the queen of Hungary and his Prussian majesty. This cir-

* His manner of signing frequently, instead of *Frederick*.

circumstance determined marshal Belleisle to go to the king's camp, to learn from the monarch himself if these reports were well founded. He arrived there the 2d of June. The king spoke to him without evasion, and said, "I believe, marshal, that the treaty which you mention is at the eve of a conclusion. I have prescribed terms of peace to the queen of Hungary, and she has accepted them. Having obtained all I want, I make peace, and all persons would do the same were they in my situation. But if I abandon the alliance of the emperor, I do not, upon this account, forsake the interests of that prince; but the queen of Hungary, by granting me all I demand, no longer leaves me a reason for making war." "*How,*" says the marshal, "*did you dare to abandon the best of your allies, and deceive a monarch so respectable as the king of France?*" The king at first replied to this insolent discourse only by a look full of majesty and indignation. He then said, "*And how do you dare thus to talk to me?*" At these words, Frederick drew from his pocket the cardinal's letter, holding it under the eyes of Belleisle, saying to him, "*Read!*" After reading it, Belleisle, confused, withdrew, yet not without venting execrations on the cardinal. (See note (40).)

(33) Extract of the convention of Klein-Schnellendorf, signed the 9th of October, 1741.

1. The king of Prussia has it in his option whether he will make himself master of the town of Neisse by siege.

2. The commandant shall have orders to surrender the place after a siege of fifteen days.

5. After this capture, his majesty, the king of Prussia, shall act no more offensively either against the queen of Hungary, or the king of England, or any of the queen's present allies, before a general peace.

6. The king of Prussia shall never demand more of the queen of Hungary than Upper Silesia, with the town of Neisse.

7. The parties shall endeavour to conclude a definitive treaty towards the month of December next.

8. The count de Neuperg declares, in the name of the queen of Hungary, that she will cede without difficulty to the king of Prussia, by the treaty to be concluded towards the month of December next, all Lower Silesia as far as the river Neifs, the town of Neisse inclusively, and from the other side of the Oder to the ordinary limits of the duchy of Oppeln, with perfect sovereignty and independence.

9. The 16th of this month, marshal de Neuperg shall retire with his whole army towards Moravia, and from thence wheresoever he thinks proper.

10. The castle of Ottmachau shall be evacuated at the same time that the queen's army shall retire.

12. A part of the king of Prussia's army shall take up winter quarters in Upper Silesia till the month of April, 1742.

17. On one side and the other small parties shall be sent out to continue hostilities *pro formâ*, and it shall be agreed upon in what manner to act during the course of the ensuing spring, in case a treaty or general peace does not take place before that time.

18. These present articles are to be kept as an inviolable secret.

(34) This work is by John Peter, of Ludewig, a privy counsellor, and chancellor of the regency of Magdebourg; and it is entitled,

Catholica religio in tuto: vicinia regni Poloniae in tuto, vindicatis Silesiae ducatibus adversus Austriacam vim.

(35) The title of this work is, *Summaria recensio pretensionum sacrae regiae majestatis Prussiae, sacri Romani Imperii electoris & marchionis Brandenburgensis, in quibusdam Silesiae & Lusatiae tractibus, filo historico deducta, interprete Rudolph. August. Voltenio, &c.*

(36) The

(36) The king, being at Pymont, sent general count Schmettau to Cassel to demand in marriage Maria-Amelia, only daughter of the landgrave, for the margrave Charles of Brandenburg. It was granted; but his death, which happened the 19th November, 1744, prevented its celebration.

(37) The excessive price of every article of consumption may give an idea of the situation of the besieged. Twenty-two sols (or eleven pence) a pound were paid for horse-flesh; and there were 8000 horses eaten. A hare cost 45 livres, a goose 24 livres, 15 livres for sixty eggs, a cow 20 louis-d'or, an ox 50 louis, &c.

(38) This treaty of perpetual union contains five articles. By the 1st the object of the treaty is fixed, which is the preservation and maintenance of peace in Germany.

The 2d states that the allies shall unite in endeavouring to engage the court of Vienna to acknowledge the emperor.

The 3d mentions the differences on the subject of the Austrian succession, and the introduction of a truce in Germany.

The 4th conveys a reciprocal guaranty of all the states possessed by the contracting parties.

The 5th promises mutual succour and assistance to such of the contracting parties as shall be attacked in its states on account of this union.

(39) In this publication the king gives as a reason for his conduct the necessity of appeasing the troubles of the empire, of re-establishing peace and order, and of restoring vigour to the laws. In it, he reproaches the queen of Hungary with the cruelties exercised by her troops in the hereditary provinces of the emperor, the design of destroying the Germanic liberty, and of forging chains against Germany. He declares that for an age past the house of Austria has adopted, as the fundamental principle of its policy, the endeavour to reduce

all the princes of the empire under the yoke of despotism; *and he produces, as an example of this, the conduct of the court of Vienna during the two last years.*

Germany, he remarks, is overrun with foreign troops, which cost great sums, and are maintained at the expence of many princes of the empire who take no part in these differences. Numerous armies have marched through the neutral provinces of the empire, without any previous letters of requisition, agreeable to usage. The queen has concluded alliances to indemnify certain powers for the large extraordinary succours with which they furnish her. Her generals have attempted to take by force Imperial cities; her ministers have laboured to detach from the chief of the empire the electors, and other princes, by promises, menaces, and other illicit means. An effort has been made to throw ridicule and contempt on the sacred person of the emperor. The object of the court of Vienna is violently to seize the Imperial crown, and place it on the head of a prince who does not even reside in the empire. It would prove a scandal for the electors to suffer the queen of Hungary to deprive them of the freedom of election, and the rights which they have invariably enjoyed according to the constitution of the empire, &c.

(40) Secret article of the union of Frankfort, published by the court of Vienna, and denied by that of Prussia.

“ In as much as the disinclination hitherto testified by the
 “ court of Vienna, and her allies, for the re-establishment
 “ of the repose and tranquillity of the empire, affords but too
 “ great reason to apprehend, that, far from adopting ami-
 “ cable measures, conformably to the treaty between - - -
 “ the said court will either reject, or elude at least, the effect
 “ for which it was reasonable to hope, it will become indis-
 “ pensable to recur to stronger and more efficacious methods.
 “ His majesty, the king of Prussia, always animated with the
 “ desire of co-operating in the pacification of Germany,
 “ after

“after mature deliberation, has considered that there can be
“no expedients more summary and more decisive than to
“promise and engage, as he does promise and engage, by
“the present separate article, to take upon himself the ex-
“pedition for the conquest of all Bohemia, and to put his
“Imperial majesty in possession of that crown, and guaranty
“it, for ever, to him, his heirs, and successors. His Imperial
“majesty, penetrated with the most lively gratitude, on this
“condition, cedes from the present moment to his Prussian
“majesty, irrevocably, and in perpetuity, to him, his heirs,
“and latest descendants, in the strongest and most authentic
“manner, the claims he has on the circles, seigniories, and
“towns hereafter mentioned, to wit, the town and all the
“circle of Koenigsgrætz. His Imperial majesty cedes, like-
“wise, to his majesty the king of Prussia, the circles of
“Bunzlau and Leutmeritz, so as that all the countries situ-
“ated between the frontiers of Silesia and the river Elbe, as
“well as from the town and circle of Koenigsgrætz, to the
“confines of Saxony, shall belong to the king of Prussia;
“and the course of the Elbe shall form the barrier of the two
“states; and the country situated on the other side of that
“river, and within the limits of Bohemia, shall remain to his
“Imperial majesty, should even any parts of it be depen-
“dencies of the circles ceded to his Prussian majesty, ex-
“cepting the seigniory and town of Parduwitz, and the town
“of Colin, which his Imperial majesty now cedes to his
“Prussian majesty, for himself, his successors, &c. His Im-
“perial majesty engages, on the aforesaid condition, from
“the present moment, to guaranty to the king of Prussia,
“&c. &c. the countries he has ceded to him, or does now
“cede to him, by virtue of the present article; provided, ne-
“vertheless, that Bohemia, on the footing on which it shall
“remain with his Imperial majesty, shall be susceptible of no
“further dismemberment. His Imperial majesty, likewise,
“cedes,

“cedes, on the aforesaid condition, to his Prussian majesty,
 “irrevocably, and in perpetuity, for him, his heirs, &c. his
 “claims on Upper Silesia. He also engages to guaranty it to
 “him, as soon as his Prussian majesty shall have conquered
 “and acquired possession of it, in like manner as his Prussian
 “majesty promises to guaranty to his Imperial majesty Upper
 “Austria to him, his successors, &c. as soon as his Imperial
 “majesty shall have conquered and taken possession of the
 “same,” &c. &c.

This is not the only instance in this war, wherein the belligerent powers denied the measures imputed to each other. Charles VII. finding himself in urgent want, had proposed to secularize some bishoprics and chapters, such as Saltzbourg, Passau, &c. and to take possession of their wealth. This project rendered him an object of vengeance with the pope and clergy, and he had no other method to appease them, but by declaring that he had never entertained any such idea. Louis XV. whom the war obliged to impose fresh taxes, was desirous of peace; cardinal Fleury wrote (as it is reported) the letter which we have mentioned to general Kœnigsek, in which he excused himself, and threw the conduct of the court of France on marshal Belleisle. A letter of this nature, in fact, was shewn; but the cardinal publicly denied that he had ever written any like it. Voltaire remarks, in his *Age of Louis XV.* that no person was imposed upon by this disavowal.

(41) It is easy to conceive that a body of troops pursued by a considerable army, and by swarms of light cavalry, obliged to traverse a mountainous country, through inconvenient roads, and in a rainy season, could not make such a retreat without great loss and difficulty. It seems, however, as if the king did not think the evil so great as it was generally imagined; for he appeared so satisfied with the conduct of
 general

general Nassau, who had covered the march, that, on his arrival at the camp, he took off his own ribband of the order of the Black Eagle, and put it round his neck.

(42) In this publication he assures the Hungarians that he has no other object in view by the war, but to maintain the peace of the empire, and to support the Imperial dignity. That the king does not think of making fresh conquests, nor has any intention of enriching himself at the expence of the empress queen. That this whole war regards only the welfare of the empire, and by no means the kingdom of Hungary. In consequence, he hopes that the noble Hungarian nation will not commit hostilities and ravages contrary to the friendship and good understanding which should prevail between neighbours. The nation is next entreated not to make incursions, or ravages, in the states of his majesty, on which condition they are assured that they have nothing to fear from the Prussian troops; but that, if, on the contrary, they commit any hostilities, every thing that just reprisals can admit will be exercised against the kingdom of Hungary and its inhabitants, &c.

(43) The queen, in this piece, reminds the inhabitants of Silesia of the mildness and goodness with which they have been governed by her predecessors; she promises them the same care, the same attention, the same indulgence. She covenants to maintain them in all their rights and privileges; offers to listen to their complaints, and redress all the grievances they may present to her; and promises her protection and special favour to such as shall distinguish themselves by their zeal and attachment to her service. She forbids them, likewise, to obey the avocatory letters issued at this time by the king.

(44) The king's answer is nearly of the same nature as that of the court of Vienna. Caresses and menaces are there lavished

lavished on the Silesians ; and it is declared that every person shall be considered as a traitor who holds any correspondence, or intelligence, with the enemies of the king.

(45) *Letter of a Prussian officer on the battle of Landshout.*

“ To give you an idea of the little action at Landshout, of
 “ which you desire the particulars, I must go back and bring
 “ to your recollection, that colonel Winterfeldt, being recalled
 “ from Upper Silesia, was detached from the king’s army
 “ with 1500 hussars, and four battalions of grenadiers, to-
 “ wards the mountains of Schmiedeberg and Hirschberg,
 “ to make head against a troop of Bosniacs and Lycanians,
 “ who were ravaging the country. They soon fell in with,
 “ defeated, and totally dispersed them ; but the enemy were
 “ so exasperated, that they determined to take their revenge
 “ as soon as possible, more especially as their main object was
 “ to penetrate with their whole army by Landshout and the
 “ mountainous country bordering on Bohemia. Lieutenant-
 “ general count Nadaſti was entrusted with this expedition,
 “ and had under him prince Estherhazi, and colonel Pataſ-
 “ chutz, commandant of the Bosniac troops, so roughly
 “ handled by Winterfeldt. The latter breathed nothing but
 “ sanguinary vengeance, and had sworn, by all the saints, that
 “ he would either take, or be taken by, the Prussians ; an en-
 “ gagement which (as you shall perceive) he has since partly
 “ fulfilled.

“ Whilst the enemy were making these dispositions, and
 “ had taken post at Friedland and Schœmberg, Winterfeldt
 “ advanced from Hirschberg towards Landshout, at a time
 “ when lieutenant-general Du Moulin was marching towards
 “ the same place with two battalions of grenadiers, ten squa-
 “ drons of Moellendorf dragoons, and 300 hussars from
 “ Schweidnitz. The 20th of May, Winterfeldt took post
 “ at Landshout. The ten squadrons, commanded by major-
 “ general de Stille, were cantoned at Giesmendorf, and

“ Du Moulin,

“Du Moulin, with the grenadiers and hussars, at Reichenau ;
 “the former at a mile*, the latter at two miles, from
 “Landshout.

“They remained thus stationed the 21st, as the enemy did
 “not stir, and information had been communicated of their
 “intention to deceive us, and fall upon the magazine at
 “Schweidnitz, where there were only two battalions. The
 “lieutenant-general had an interview the 22d with Stille and
 “Winterfeldt, respecting the measures to be taken; in which
 “it was agreed, that the lieutenant-general, with the dra-
 “goons, grenadiers, and hussars he had brought with him,
 “should approach, the next day, to Schweidnitz, whilst
 “Winterfeldt, with four battalions, and 1400 hussars, should
 “continue to observe what enemies there were at Schœm-
 “berg and Friedland.

“The 23d, at 3 o'clock in the morning, Winterfeldt sent
 “a chasseur to general Stille, desiring him to suspend his
 “march, as he had reason to think the enemy were coming
 “to attack him ; but told him, at the same time, not to quit
 “his quarters until the matter was more certain, of which
 “he would not fail to inform him, should his presence be-
 “come necessary. Stille forwarded the same messenger to Du
 “Moulin. The trumpets were then sounded for saddling,
 “and he quitted his cantonments, formed his squadrons on
 “the high road to Landshout, and waited for more particular
 “advices. Between 5 and 6 o'clock, we thought that we
 “heard the firing of cannon, but feebly, and at great inter-
 “vals ; the wind, which was contrary, preventing us from
 “distinguishing the noise of the discharges. Winterfeldt,
 “however, was then attacked in regular form. He had
 “marched from Landshout at break of day, with three bat-
 “talions, to post himself on the heights immediately in front
 “of the town on the side of Liebau and Grissau, by which

* A German mile is six English miles ; and the translator pre-
 sumes that this distance must be meant.

“ the enemy necessarily must pass ; his hussars, who were
“ encamped before him, near to Reichen-Hennersdorf, were
“ already on horseback in front of their camp, when they
“ saw a large body of hussars filing opposite to them, with
“ some infantry, and a great number of Pandours. The
“ party being unequal for our hussars, they were obliged to
“ fall back on our grenadiers, on which the Pandours, slipping
“ by the village, entered the abandoned camp, and set
“ fire to the straw huts, whilst other troops of hussars and infantry
“ continued to steal along the mountain, behind the
“ grenadiers, as those of the enemy were three times stronger,
“ and supported by the Hungarian infantry ; and, accordingly,
“ the latter, under a persuasion that Winterfeldt would
“ still give way, thought proper to descend into the valley,
“ and made a shew of attacking him on the heights. They
“ had cannon with them, and were advancing in tolerably
“ good order, when Winterfeldt, in his turn, ordered his
“ hussars, with some cannon, and a few companies of grenadiers,
“ to descend to meet them, and make a regular fire
“ by platoons, in which they succeeded so well, as to oblige
“ one Hungarian battalion of Haller to retreat, and the other
“ to throw themselves behind a screen for shelter. They
“ did not, however, entirely give up the matter, but collected
“ in order of battle at the foot of the mountain by which
“ they came. On the other hand, the Pandours gained a
“ small wood, opposite the heights on the flank of our battalions,
“ and killed and wounded some men. They had even
“ the intrepidity to climb up these heights on their hands and
“ feet, to fire their pieces into the breasts of our men, and
“ then leap down again, where they had no danger to apprehend.
“ A party of Tolpatsches and hussars passed at the
“ same time the suburbs of Landschout, and spread themselves
“ over the hills on the other side of the town ; so that our
“ situation did not carry too favourable an appearance, our
“ grenadiers not daring to quit their post, nor the hussars to

“ get

“get into motion. At this moment major-general Stille
“most opportunely arrived. The first effect produced by the
“appearance of his corps was, that all the enemy’s troops
“which had passed the town fell back on their main body,
“and their infantry wholly abandoned the valley to regain
“the summit of the hill, under the cover of three lines of
“hussars, composed of above 3000 horse. As soon as the
“Prussian dragoons had passed the suburb and joined Win-
“terfeldt’s battalion, they ranged themselves in line of bat-
“tle on the right wing over against the enemy. Our huf-
“sars were placed in a line before the dragoons, and the sig-
“nal being given, they marched, then descended full speed
“from the heights on which we were, and remounted with
“the same velocity those on which the enemy was posted.
“The Austrian hussars did not chuse to sustain the impetuo-
“sity of this shock, and regained the summit of the moun-
“tain, in hopes that their infantry and Pandours posted in
“the wood would check us by their fire. But, though they
“made a general discharge on us, and the hill we had to
“ascend was very steep, we never stopped, but reached the
“top of it as soon as the fugitives, and so as to bear down
“and overturn all before us. Five hundred were cut to
“pieces; seventy-two, among whom was colonel Patafschutz,
“were made prisoners; and the rest totally dispersed. We
“pursued them as far as the plain of Grissau, and should
“have taken the whole detachment, had not the ponds, dikes,
“and other defiles near the abbey, prevented us from pushing
“our point. Upwards of one thousand musquets, sabres,
“&c. were picked up along the road by which they fled, and
“the peasants have since informed us, that Nadaasti sent
“twenty-three waggons laden with the wounded into Bo-
“hemia.

“After this stroke, we remained quietly at Landshout till
“the 26th; when, learning that the van of the enemy’s
“main army, as well Austrian as Saxon, was little more
“than

“ than a league from us, we retreated on the night of the
 “ 27th to Schweidnitz, without any molestation, &c.

“ Camp before Schweidnitz, 29 May, 1745.”

(46) At this battle the prince of Prussia, the king's brother, father of the present king, marched at the head of his brigade amidst the fire; the marquis de Valori, the French envoy, who was near the king, appearing astonished at it, the prince replied, “ *One cannot be better than with such comrades, but it is necessary to shew them that you are worthy of them.*”

Louis XV. had sent to the king an officer, named La Tour, to announce to him the victory of Fontenoy. This officer was witness to the battle of Strigau, or Hohen-Friedberg, and Frederick wrote to the king of France, “ *I have paid at Friedberg the bill of exchange you drew on me from Fontenoy.*”

We read in Voltaire, “ This officer found the king of Prussia at the extremity of *Lower Silesia towards Ratibor*, on the brow of a mountain near a village called *Frideberg*. It was there he saw this monarch gain a signal victory over the Austrians.”

A German writer remarks, in speaking of this passage, “ That Frideberg is at the foot of the Bohemian mountains, in Lower Silesia; and Ratibor in Upper Silesia, on the Oder, upwards of 40 leagues from Frideberg.”

The king said to La Tour before the battle, “ You want to know, then, to whom Silesia will belong?” “ No,” replied La Tour, “ I wish only to be a witness of the manner in which your majesty punishes your enemies and defends your dominions.”

At the close of this battle, general Gosler, at the head of his regiment of Bareith dragoons, made an attack truly heroic. The king, to recompense this regiment, gave them a diploma, in which all the circumstances of this attack are detailed, and all the officers who contributed to it are named with

with commendations worthy of their valour. This diploma is always kept by the commandant of the regiment.

Major Chasot, who was then in this regiment, particularly distinguished himself. To reward him, the king added to his arms the Prussian eagle, with the words *Friedberg*, 76, alluding to the number of colours taken from the enemy at this battle.

At the same battle, some generals were taken, amongst whom was one of the name of *Ræmer* (the German word for *Roman*). The day after the engagement, they were all invited to dine with the king. "Now," observed the king, "that I have once beaten your army, I will vanquish you wherever I find you." General Ræmer replied, "Sire, Hannibal beat the Romans four times, but the fifth he was beaten, and the war terminated." "True," says Frederick, "but Hannibal did not command Prussians, and his opposers were only Romans *.

Reflections of a Prussian officer on the battle of Hohen-Friedberg.

"It is impossible not to bestow infinite praise on the king of Prussia's conduct both before and on the day of this memorable engagement. The situation of affairs called for some decisive action. In keeping on the defensive, and confining himself to hinder the enemy from penetrating into Silesia through the mountains, he would have been obliged to sacrifice many men, and enervate his provinces and finances, as his army would have been under the necessity of subsisting at its own expence, and, after all, at the risk of not succeeding; for the enemy was either actually or reputedly superior. He had in his rear the whole forces of Bohemia, and even supposing that this campaign might

* To feel properly this reply, the reader must recollect that the word *Ræmer*, made use of by the king in speaking of the *Romans* in German, alluded to the general's name.

“ have passed over in trifling skirmishes, his experience in
 “ cases of this nature, and the superiority of his light troops,
 “ gave us no room to hope for equal successes in every part.
 “ We must add to these considerations, that the king, stand-
 “ ing in need of all his troops to make head against prince
 “ Charles of Lorraine and the duke of Weissenfels, must ne-
 “ cessarily abandon the heights of Silesia, from whence the
 “ insurgents might disperse themselves on all sides, and render
 “ our subsistence very difficult; and the more so, as they
 “ had just surprised the fortress of Cosel. It was absolutely
 “ requisite, therefore, to bring the enemy to a battle as soon
 “ as possible, to attain the desired object, which was to drive
 “ them from Silesia, and transport the theatre of war into
 “ Bohemia. The king, accordingly, performed a master-
 “ stroke in feigning to dread the superiority of the combined
 “ army, and in circulating the report of his intentions not to
 “ wait for them in the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, but
 “ to occupy a sure post between Breslaw and Glogau, on the
 “ Oder, for the convenience of his convoys. In consequence
 “ of these false rumours, he evacuated the mountains, Upper
 “ Silesia, and the county of Glatz, collected all his different
 “ corps, and kept himself close and covered in his camp be-
 “ tween Schweidnitz and Striegau, making use of every pos-
 “ sible precaution to conceal from the enemy both his real
 “ designs and the number of his troops; thoroughly per-
 “ suaded, that if prince Charles once descended into the plain,
 “ it would then only depend on us to force him to come to
 “ blows.

“ The event justified the wise measure adopted by the
 “ king; and if, to constitute a great captain, it be necessary
 “ to conceive vast projects and prepare the plans, he must not
 “ be less so, who can turn to profit the movements when in
 “ execution, and act with dexterity and vigour. It is here
 “ again that Frederick displayed the extent of his abilities.
 “ As soon as he saw his stratagem succeed, and that prince

“ Charles

“Charles and the duke of Weissenfels fell into the snare, he
“seized the favourable moment with marvellous prompti-
“tude; and supposing, with reason, that the combined army,
“descended from the mountains at sunset, would not have
“time to arrange themselves during the night, he surprised
“and attacked them at break of day, and gained a complete
“victory.

“The same cannot be said of the combined army and their
“conduct. The court of Vienna, designing to retake Si-
“lesia, thought to be able to terminate the war in the course
“of this single campaign.

“I do not pretend to decide whether the place by which
“prince Charles entered Silesia was or was not the best
“adapted to his designs. It is for those who have more ex-
“perience than I have in this great branch of war to deter-
“mine that question. Yet, it appears, that Saxony being
“wholly in the interest of the court of Vienna, and almost
“on the point of openly breaking out against us, it was the
“most eligible to make an attack against us on that side,
“and the only error was in the manner of conducting it.
“Would it not have been better judged, had they proved less
“hasty in descending from the mountains? Would they not
“have acted more wisely, had they established themselves
“along Lusatia, and kept us in continual alarms, during that
“time making their light troops attack on all sides, to harass
“us, and render our convoys more difficult?

“I shall be answered, that a great army, like that of prince
“Charles, was difficult to subsist; and that, in pursuing
“these ideas, the prince ran the risk of wanting necessaries,
“as his magazines in Bohemia were not too well provided.

“But, all know that Saxony had abundance of every ne-
“cessary article, that this power only waited the favourable
“moment to throw off the mask, and possessed a train of ar-
“tillery in readiness for the pretended siege of Glogau.
“Thus, what could have been lost by playing the surest

“ game, keeping us some time in check, and then suddenly
“ appearing through another passage higher up, or lower
“ down? For, it would have proved almost impossible for us
“ to block all these passages, without greatly diminishing our
“ forces, which, independently of this reason, would have
“ been only too much dispersed by frequent escorts and de-
“ tachments, if the Hungarian troops executed their duty.
“ But, perhaps, the prince of Lorraine had precise orders from
“ the council of war at Vienna, to hasten affairs and try the
“ fortune of a battle. Even in this case the error falls on
“ him; for, apparently, the council of war would not give
“ these orders but in consequence of the reports made by the
“ generals to the court, of the situation of the two armies;
“ and he, on his side, was so blinded by the false, but flat-
“ tering intelligence of our diligence to avoid meeting him,
“ that he did not allow himself time to distrust these accounts,
“ and, consequently, built on suppositions by which he and
“ his court were duped.

“ All this, however, does not weigh a feather in the scale
“ with his conduct on the evening before the battle. He
“ quitted the mountains towards the evening, and we have
“ certain information that several regiments of his army did
“ not reach the plain till the night was far advanced, and we
“ were already in full march to attack him. Why did he not
“ perform this manœuvre earlier? He would have had time
“ at least to draw up in order of battle, nor would he have
“ done amiss to have remained so all the night. Instead of
“ this, he arrives in the middle of darkness, which prevents
“ the necessary arrangements; the horses are picketed, and
“ the army go to rest, as if the enemy was at 20 leagues
“ distance. I pass over in silence what is said of too long a
“ dinner which the prince gave that day to the duke of
“ Weissenfels, and which was reported to have suspended,
“ for some hours, the activity of the generals. I wish rather to
“ attribute this anecdote to the malice of the prince's enemies.

“ As

“As for the rest, I am not ignorant that the cause of the
“misfortune arising from this ill-timed security is imputed
“to the want of vigilance in general Nadaſti. But, it is
“certain, that the situation of our camp and our precautions
“prevented that general from taking a near survey of us; a
“circumstance which alone should have made the prince of
“Lorraine imagine that things were not in the situation in
“which he, at first, concluded them to be standing.

“On the other hand, his whole army were full of preju-
“dices respecting the Prussians. The common soldiers were
“perpetually told, that the Prussians, enfeebled and discour-
“aged by the last campaign, would never make a stand, and
“that the Austrians would remain at liberty to pillage Silesia
“at their pleasure. What must these men, lulled into se-
“curity by such flattering ideas, have thought, when, on
“waking, they saw a formidable army of these very Prussians,
“who, far from suffering themselves to be driven, were ad-
“vancing with a firm countenance and rapid steps to teach
“them to the contrary? Such surprises are always fatal; and
“if it be sometimes good to inspire the soldier with confi-
“dence, it must not at least be founded on illusions that may
“so speedily be dissipated. But, even in this case, the Au-
“strians had not experience on their side. We had beaten
“them in more than one engagement, and in this they had
“soon reason to be convinced that the ideas with which their
“generals had lulled them were chimeras. The generals
“themselves were taken unawares; the soldiers were sur-
“prised and full of consternation: what could be expected
“in such a situation, but confusion and defeat?

“I must, however, render justice to these same generals,
“and allow that they used efforts worthy of intrepid men,
“by endeavouring to make the most advantage of the ground
“and of their forces. But, our vivacity had gotten the
“start of their too tardy exertions; and with thrice their
“valour they never could have avoided a defeat. They felt,

“ from their own experience, the truth of the axiom, *In war faults can never be committed with impunity.*”

(47) The battle of Soor does the greatest honour to Frederick II. He confesses himself that he had committed a fault in the first instance, by detaching a body of troops from his army into Upper Silesia. “ *I deserved,*” he remarks, in an instruction to his generals, “ *to be beaten at Soor; and that would have been the case, but for the skill of my generals, and the courage of my troops.*”

But, let us figure to ourselves this prince surprised by an army of 40,000 combatants, environed on all sides by swarms of light troops, and having no force to oppose to them but 18 or 19,000 men. The danger does not disturb him; he retains all the calmness of reflection. He has but an instant to form in, and he employs it so well, that his disposition passes for a master-stroke. He profits by the faults of the enemy, and gains a complete victory over troops who were already rejoicing at his expected defeat.

In the list of prisoners made by the Austrians in this battle, was the secretary of the king's cabinet, some of his pages, servants, and attendants on the baggage. The Austrians took also his military chest, which was but inconsiderable, and even the king's own baggage. Frederick, who had neither pen nor ink, wrote thus with a pencil to his minister at Breslaw: “ *I have beaten the Austrians, I have taken prisoners, sing Te Deum.*”

FREDERICK.”

After the battle, the king returned his thanks to the army in these terms: “ His majesty thanks all his officers and soldiers for the bravery, fidelity, and good will with which they have served him at the battle of Soor. His majesty will not fail, as far as lies in his power, to manifest, on every occasion, his gratitude to his gallant officers, and

“to take care of their promotion and their fortune. He is
“also in the firm confidence that so long as one only of these
“worthy officers shall be alive, the glory of the Prussian arms
“and the safety of the country will always exist.”

(48) The grand visier, by order of the grand Turk, invited the ministers of the Christian princes at Constantinople to an extraordinary conference. He painted to them, with warmth, the ravages and miseries of war, and added, that the grand seignior, his master, after considering what commerce would suffer, if the Christian princes lived in war, had resolved to offer his mediation; that he had written to them on the subject, and hoped to receive such an answer from them as he desired.

The grand visier declared to Mr. de Benkler, minister from the queen of Hungary, “That his master could not, without displeasure, behold the present war, not only because
“he lived in harmony with several of the belligerent powers,
“but also because the commerce of the Turks suffered
“greatly from it; and that it was even to be feared lest the
“continuation of these troubles should ruin it entirely.”

He then turned to M. Desbordes, secretary to the Dutch embassy, and said to him: “Is it not shameful for you
“Christians, who wish to pass for the true believers, to
“have wholly banished from amongst you the spirit of peace;
“and that we Mussulmen, whom you call infidels, should
“find ourselves obliged to inspire you with the sentiments
“you ought to possess? The grand seignior, my master, is
“touched with the miseries that desolate Europe, and has
“charged me to offer his high and powerful mediation to
“your masters, and the other Christian powers, and to re-
“commend peace to them. I must declare to you, there-
“fore, in the name of his highness, that his subjects suffer
“greatly from these wars, and that, in consequence, he de-
“sires to see them terminated.”

At the same time he gave to each of the ministers and foreign residents a long writing, as singular for its style as for its ideas, and which opened with the mention of the creation of the world. The following is the substance of it.

“ God, after creating the world, also created man, to put
 “ the finishing hand to so beautiful a work, and gave him,
 “ with the qualities of mind and body, entire power over the
 “ earth and the sea. Man, to procure himself an agreeable
 “ life, applied to arts and professions. Great moderation is
 “ necessary to govern well the body of the human species.
 “ They who are refractory must be brought back to reason
 “ by war and by arms. But, as soon as affairs proceed prof-
 “ perously, we should think of peace, which is the source of
 “ all happiness. Though man feels a natural horror against
 “ arms, princes, notwithstanding, are often obliged to em-
 “ ploy them. But, however just their quarrels, they must
 “ soon be finished, for war has dreadful consequences.
 “ The Ottoman Porte was in hopes that the Christian princes
 “ would at length be tired of war, but she learns, by her am-
 “ bassadors, that numerous armies are going to enter the field
 “ at the beginning of spring. Now, as only great evils
 “ can result from it, the following representations are made
 “ to the Christian ambassadors, at the most gracious court of
 “ the invincible emperor, who is the treasure of God, and a
 “ model of the majesty of Alexander the Great :

“ 1st, That these wars shed too much human blood,
 “ 2dly, That they cause the misfortune of many *poor*
 “ *young girls*, who are exposed to be dishonoured.
 “ 3dly, That they suspend the commerce and subsistence
 “ of a great multitude of men.

“ In hopes that the Christian princes will suffer themselves
 “ to be touched by these representations, the grand seignior
 “ offers to become mediator amongst them,” &c.

To this piece was joined, at the same time, certain propositions respecting the congress and the preliminary articles, of which the following are the principal heads :

“ 1. The grand seignior will admit into the mediation
“ the empress of Russia, the crown of Sweden, and the re-
“ publics of Venice and Holland.

“ 2. The congress shall be holden at Venice, because that
“ city is well situated to admit of certain intelligence being
“ brought to Constantinople, of the state of the negociations,
“ and for conveying the same to the capitals of the other
“ Christian princes.

“ 3. The sublime Porte will give full powers to two mi-
“ nisters who shall reside for some years at Vienna and at
“ Paris, and to whom the Christian policy shall be known.
“ To them, likewise, shall be added a man of talents and ex-
“ perience.

“ 4. If the grand pontiff of the Christians sends to the
“ congress one of his apostles to facilitate the overtures of
“ peace by his representations, the Porte is also ready to send
“ there a dervise, or Mahometan monk, of the order of the
“ Musti, who will make no difficulty to confer with the
“ Christian priest.

“ 5. The belligerent powers who shall send ministers to
“ the congress shall give them the most precise and most de-
“ termined orders, that no time may be lost in demanding
“ fresh instructions.

“ 6. All the princes and states who have taken no part in
“ this war, but who have other pretensions, may send am-
“ bassadors to the congress, to avoid fresh disputes resulting
“ from these pretensions.”

The following is the substance of the preliminary articles :

“ 1. There shall be a general truce by sea and land.

“ 2. Each party shall retain the conquests which they may
“ have acquired during this war.

“ 3. France

“ 3. France shall leave her troops in the Austrian places of
 “ which she has taken possession in the name of the Roman
 “ emperor, and shall not be forced to withdraw them from
 “ the empire until peace shall be generally concluded and
 “ established.

“ 4. In the future election of an emperor, it shall proceed
 “ by the *unanimity* and not by the *plurality* of voices ; with-
 “ out which condition the election shall be null.

“ 5. For this reason, this election shall be deferred till after
 “ the conclusion of peace.

“ 6. The belligerent powers shall previously engage wil-
 “ lingly to receive the proposals of peace made to them by
 “ the arbiters and mediators.

“ 7. In case of their refusal, the latter shall unite all their
 “ forces, to compel the refractory party to make peace, and
 “ to pay all the costs and damages.

“ 8. But, if peace be concluded, the reconciled powers shall
 “ agree together to indemnify the Porte for the embassy and
 “ other expences.

“ 9. On her side, the sublime Porte will not refuse
 “ the mediation of a Christian power between her and
 “ Persia.”

No doubts were entertained at Vienna and the Hague, that
 this proceeding of the grand Turk originated in the secret
 intrigues of France with the divan.

When the abbé de Ville, the French minister at the
 Hague, received the news of these propositions of the Turk,
 he demanded an audience of the pensionary Fagel. “ *Con-
 fess, sir,*” says the abbé, “ *that the conduct of the grand
 seignior is very affecting, and that the Turk has truly Christian
 sentiments.*” “ *Yes,*” replied Fagel, “ *but there are countries,
 where, in wishing to pass for MOST CHRISTIAN, they never
 cease to act like Turks.*”

(49) The court of Prussia observed in this piece, *that if probity were banished from the earth, it should still be found in the breast of sovereigns.* A noble principle!—This court then exposes her conduct with respect to Saxony, accuses Austria of making no distinction between belligerent and auxiliary princes, whence she concludes that she is justified in observing the same conduct towards Saxony. She, notwithstanding, enters into a detail concerning the lenient measures which she employed with respect to the king of Poland, immediately after the death of the emperor Charles VII. She remarks that she has never suffered the smallest symptom of hatred or of vengeance to escape her against Saxony. The declaration then speaks of *the providence that governs empires and the actions of men in its perfect wisdom, and takes a pleasure in confounding the designs of those who put trust in themselves, and glory in their own strength.*

In fine, this court, to furnish an immediate example of its mildness and moderation, to prove how incapable it is of suffering *the smallest symptom of hatred, anger, animosity, or vengeance* against Saxony to influence its conduct, accuses this very Saxony of *jealousy, cruelty, animosity, and unbounded ambition*; reproaches her ministers with *private views and personal interests*, and treats with *ridicule* the measures which they have pursued, and the reasons which they have adduced.

The court of Saxony replied to this memorial in the month of September; but there would be no end of giving extracts from all these disputes of the pen, which, far from deciding upon any point whatever, are only ridiculed by the sovereigns in whose names they are promulgated.

(50) We shall, here, call the attention of the reader to the principal passages which relate to the negotiations for peace. They will paint one part of the character of Frederick. The letter particularly alluded to is that of the 13th December, 1745, and the last but one of this collection.

Letter

Letter from count Podewils, cabinet minister of his Prussian majesty, to Mr. Villiers, minister plenipotentiary from the king of Great Britain to the court of Saxony.

“ Berlin, 28 November, 1745,

“ SIR,

“ It is by the express order of the king my master, that
“ I have the honour to write you the following :

“ His Majesty is persuaded that you are fully informed,
“ fir, of the indefatigable pains his Britannic majesty has hi-
“ therto been pleased to take, to restore peace to Germany,
“ and a good understanding between the king my master and
“ the courts of Vienna and Dresden, by the convention con-
“ cluded and signed at Hanover the 26 August, N. S. of
“ the present year, between the king my master and his Bri-
“ tannic majesty, and ratified on both sides.

“ Neither can you, fir, be ignorant either of the mode-
“ ration manifested by the king my master immediately after
“ the signature of that convention ; since, without waiting
“ till the courts of Vienna and Dresden should declare whe-
“ ther they would accept it, his majesty, to prove his great re-
“ spect and infinite deference for his Britannic majesty, was
“ pleased to suspend the effects of his just resentment for the
“ hostile invasion of Silesia by the Saxon troops, and to order
“ the prince of Anhalt, as soon as the news of the signature
“ of the convention of Hanover reached us, not to enter
“ Saxony, which he was on the point of doing, with an
“ army greatly superior to any that the court of Dresden
“ could then oppose to it.

“ It is in the same sentiments of moderation, and to testify
“ still more strongly the pacific dispositions of the king, that
“ his majesty, notwithstanding the refusal of the courts of
“ Vienna and of Dresden to acquiesce in so just and equi-
“ table an accommodation as that stipulated in the con-
“ vention

“vention of Hanover, has been pleased constantly to suspend
“all hostilities against Saxony, to which he was sufficiently
“authorized by the invasion of Silesia. And the king, to
“convince his Britannic majesty, and all the well-disposed
“powers, of his desire for peace, and the speedy establish-
“ment of union and harmony with the court of Dresden,
“has gone still further, and, to avoid giving any umbrage to
“Saxony, has withdrawn the greatest part of the prince of
“Anhalt’s army from the frontiers of Saxony, having de-
“clared to your court, sir, as well as to that of Russia, that
“his majesty is always ready to enter into a speedy accommo-
“dation with his majesty the king of Poland, and to accept
“the good offices which her majesty the empress, in concert
“with his Britannic majesty, may think proper to employ.

“But since, in spite of all these amicable and most pacific
“measures of the king my master, the court of Dresden, far
“from corresponding with them in any respect, took the fatal
“resolution of calling two Austrian armies into the heart of
“Saxony, in order to traverse, on one side, with their united
“forces, Lusatia, and from thence penetrate not only into
“Silesia, but likewise into his majesty’s ancient hereditary
“states; whilst the Saxon army near Leipzig was destined, in
“conjunction with a body of Austrian troops under general
“count Grun, to invade the country of Magdebourg, and
“even proceed directly to this capital.

“The king, with regret, has seen himself compelled, greatly
“contrary to his wishes, to adopt the most vigorous measures,
“which all laws both human and divine permit and even
“command, to crush such dangerous designs, without waiting
“for, in the heart of his own dominions, enemies bent on
“his ruin, and advancing on all sides to overwhelm him. It
“was, in this painful necessity, that the king found himself
“obliged to obtain the start of the combined Austrian and
“Saxon army in Lusatia, to intercept it in its way, and
“hinder it from penetrating into the heart of the king’s
“hereditary

“ hereditary dominions. Providence, which has hitherto shewn
 “ such visible marks of protection to the king, against so many
 “ enemies conspired against him, has been pleased once more
 “ to bless his majesty’s just arms; and he has not only had the
 “ good fortune totally to defeat, at his entrance into Lu-
 “ satia, the corps of auxiliary Saxons, which formed the van-
 “ guard of the Austrian army, after taking upwards of a thou-
 “ sand prisoners, among whom are about a hundred officers,
 “ with general Buchner, colonel O’Byrne, and others of
 “ note, besides four pieces of cannon, three pair of colours,
 “ two standards, and two pair of kettle-drums; but also,
 “ his majesty having pursued his march towards Gœrlitz to
 “ attack the Austrian army, they did not think proper to wait
 “ for him, but, after abandoning their corps of Saxon auxi-
 “ liaries, and a large magazine at Gœrlitz, of which our
 “ troops took possession, making 200 men and several officers
 “ of the Saxon regiment of guards prisoners, prince Charles
 “ retreated with such precipitation and disorder towards
 “ Zittau and the Bohemian frontiers, that his troops even
 “ plundered all the Saxon villages where they had been
 “ cantoned.

“ Notwithstanding this, and in spite of all these advantages,
 “ which render the king master of all Upper Lusatia, and
 “ which will, should it so please the providence of Heaven,
 “ be speedily followed by more considerable successes, his
 “ majesty is always disposed to a sincere reconciliation with
 “ his majesty the king of Poland, to forget what is past, and
 “ instantly to withdraw his troops from the Saxon dominions,
 “ whenever that prince shall discover an inclination formally
 “ to accede to the convention of Hanover, to send back the
 “ Austrian troops, and no longer to grant them any passage
 “ through his states to make war with the king my master,
 “ either in Silesia, or in any other province under the king of
 “ Prussia’s government.

“ His majesty, considering the terms on which he is with

“ the

“ the king your august master, thinks he may confidently address himself to so enlightened and well-intentioned a minister as yourself, to beg of you, sir, as he expressly orders me to do from him, to be so good as to inform, without loss of time, his excellency count Brühl, and even his majesty the king of Poland, of these his pacific dispositions, and to communicate to us, as soon as possible, the resolutions and answer of the court at which you now reside.

“ The king expressly enjoins me to assure you, sir, that you may rely upon his word, and that you need never fear a disavowal of any thing I have stated to you on the part of his majesty, and by his express orders.

“ But you may well imagine, sir, that the king cannot discontinue to profit by his advantages, or to push them as far as possible, in order to defeat the dangerous projects of his enemies, until it shall have pleased the court where you are to accede purely and simply to the convention of Hanover, of the 26 August of the present year.

“ As for the rest, as the court of Dresden has, hitherto, made but a bad use of all the overtures on our side for an accommodation, I flatter myself, that you will not give a copy of my letter to the Saxon ministry. Other means may be found to satisfy them of the sincerity and good faith of the king, provided there be as favourable a disposition as on the part of his majesty, to listen to the voice of peace and reconciliation.

“ I hope you will be so good as to honour me with a speedy answer, by a courier; and I am charmed that this occasion has procured me the pleasure of assuring you of the perfect consideration with which I have the honour to be, &c.

“ H. C. DE PODEWILS.”

Answer

Answer of Mr. Villiers to Count Podewils.

“ Dresden, 30 November, 1745.

“ SIR,

“ I received yesterday, at ten in the evening, your excellency’s letter of the 28th instant. The honour his majesty the king of Prussia does me, in making choice of me as the instrument of so important a work as that of crowning his victories by an equitable peace, will animate me in the attempt, conformably to the instructions which I received some time since, on the subject from the king my master; nor shall I fail to pursue it with equal zeal and impartiality. I began to acquit myself of this duty on the evening of the 29th. I reported the contents of your excellency’s letter to count Brühl, who promised me, in shewing a disposition favourable to the interests of the two courts, to do the same with the king his master, to assemble a council of state, and to give an answer this day. His excellency has omitted no point whatever; and the resolution of this court on what I had the honour to propose on the part of his Prussian majesty, contains in substance,

“ 1. That the king of Poland is not far from acceding to the convention of Hanover; but that it is necessary to communicate on the subject with the court of Vienna, as the principal party; which is to be done without delay.

“ 2. That the king of Poland engages to make the Austrian troops, which entered on requisitorial letters, evacuate his country, as soon as the king of Prussia, agreeably to his own declaration, shall make his army retire and quit the states of the king of Poland.

“ 3. That the king of Poland engages no longer to give any passage to the Austrian troops, with a view of attacking his Prussian majesty, either in Silesia, or in his electorate,

“ I leave

" I leave it to your excellency's superior penetration to
 " decide, whether the king of Poland's engagements do not
 " seem of such a nature as to prevent him, however strong
 " his desire may be to re-establish perfect harmony between
 " the two courts, from speaking more categorically, and
 " much less from acceding to the convention of Hanover
 " previous to its acceptance by the court of Vienna, which
 " should be a principal contracting party. My sincerity
 " compels me to confess to your excellency, that, in spite of
 " my extreme desire to merit the confidence with which so
 " great a king as the master whom you serve has been pleased
 " to honour me, I should not dare to take a part in this ne-
 " gociation, to the exclusion of the house of Austria. But,
 " the sentiments of his Prussian majesty are too marked in the
 " obliging and instructive letter of your excellency, not to
 " leave room to hope that the disposition manifested by the
 " court of Dresden, in its answer, may be looked upon as a
 " great step towards a peace, so desirable and so necessary to
 " save all the states of the well-intentioned part of Europe.

" Your excellency may rest assured, that I will not give a
 " copy of your letter to this court. This first testimony of
 " your opinion in my favour is too flattering to suffer me to
 " make any other use of it than that which you were pleased
 " to prescribe. It shall be my study to appear worthy of the
 " orders your excellency gives me, and to avail myself of
 " every opportunity of proving the perfect consideration with
 " which I have the honour to be, &c.

" THO. VILLIERS."

Letter from Mr. Villiers to his Majesty the King of Prussia.

" Dresden, 30 Nov. 1745.

" SIRE,

" Having been honoured by a letter from the count de
 " Podewils, your majesty's minister of state, in which he
 " charges me, by the gracious orders of your majesty, with

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" certain

“ certain insinuations to be made to this court, tending to the
 “ salutary object of the re-establishment of peace, I have
 “ not failed to acquit myself of this commission with all the
 “ earnestness which the importance of the subject demands;
 “ and, accordingly, I have the satisfaction to assure your
 “ majesty, that the generous propositions you have made to
 “ his Polish majesty were received with corresponding sen-
 “ timents. The answer transmitted to me is as follows.”

[See the three articles in the foregoing letter.]

“ I lost not a moment in communicating it to his excel-
 “ lency count Podewils; but, in order to gain time, and to
 “ spare a greater effusion of blood, I would not omit giving
 “ an account of it likewise to your majesty, with a proposal
 “ on the part of this court, to cease on one side and the other
 “ from all military operations and exactions.

“ I do not venture to represent to so enlightened a prince
 “ how far such a testimonial of friendship will tend to con-
 “ solidate it. I shall confine myself to a submission to your
 “ majesty's orders, and to prove the veneration with which I
 “ take the liberty to declare myself,

“ SIRE,

“ Your majesty's most obedient

“ And devoted servant,

“ THO. VILLIERS.”

Answer of his Majesty the King of Prussia to Mr. Villiers.

“ Head-quarters, Gœrlitz, 1 December, 1745.

“ SIR,

“ I imagine that England and all Europe must be con-
 “ vinced of my moderation. If the king of Poland had not
 “ forced me, by his improper proceedings, to enter his coun-
 “ try, I never should have gone there; but, independently of
 “ the various advantages all Europe sees I have over my
 “ enemies, I am inclined to subscribe to an accommo-
 “ dation.

“ Having

“ Having learnt, however, too well by experience in what
 “ manner the court of Dresden makes use of its advantages,
 “ I cannot think of putting an end to hostilities, nor of with-
 “ drawing my troops from this country, before the king of
 “ Poland shall purely and simply acquiesce in the convention
 “ of Hanover. You may be persuaded, that I wait the news
 “ of this with the greatest imaginable impatience, and that the
 “ moment I receive it I shall make the necessary arrange-
 “ ments. You feel yourself, that what you write me is not
 “ sufficient to stop the progress of a victorious army ; and
 “ that the court of Dresden appears to reserve to itself a back
 “ door, by waiting the consent of the court of Vienna. As
 “ soon as I can discover more sincerity on their part, and that
 “ you will, in the name of the king of England, guaranty to
 “ me the consequences, I shall be ready to lend my aid to all
 “ the pacific arrangements you may take to re-establish a
 “ solid and durable peace between our two courts.

“ I only demand of you a categorical answer on this head,
 “ after which the king of Poland shall see that I have no other
 “ wish than the preservation of his subjects, and the restora-
 “ tion of a lasting friendship with my neighbours. It will
 “ depend on him alone to cultivate it in future, and to derive
 “ more advantages from it than from the amity of his other
 “ allies.

“ I beg you to employ yourself, with all the address I
 “ know you to possess, to terminate this negociation, which
 “ corresponds so well with the intentions of the king your
 “ master, by re-establishing the peace of Germany, and ex-
 “ tinguishing a war between two neighbours, which cannot
 “ but be ruinous and fatal to both the belligerent parties.

“ You may be assured, that on your negociation will de-
 “ pend the fate of Saxony.

“ I am, with sentiments of esteem,

“ SIR,

“ Your very affectionate

“ FREDERICK.”

Y 2

“ P. S.

“ P. S. My intention is to make peace agreeable to the
 “ convention of Hanover. I have driven the Austrians out
 “ of Saxony ; there is no further question, therefore, of send-
 “ ing them away. But, let the king of Poland declare, under
 “ the guaranty of England, his acceptance of this con-
 “ vention, either with the court of Vienna, or separately,
 “ and hostilities shall cease. You see that I require securities,
 “ and that what I demand is conformable to justice and good
 “ sense ; and I wish to play a sure game.”

Letter of Mr. Villiers to his Majesty the King of Prussia.

“ Dresden, 4 December, 1745.

“ SIRE,

“ I received, on the 2d instant, your majesty's orders of the
 “ 1st ; and, in obedience to them, without loss of time, I
 “ begged the ministers of state, entrusted with the care of
 “ this government in the absence of their sovereign, to as-
 “ semble.

“ I reported to them your majesty's declarations touching
 “ the re-establishment of a perfect harmony between the two
 “ courts, and I receive this instant the annexed declaration
 “ on their part. I dare affirm, sire, not only that I have done
 “ every thing that depended on me to render it conformable
 “ to the wishes your majesty has deigned to signify to me,
 “ and for the re-establishment of a solid friendship between
 “ the two courts, and for the restoration of tranquillity in
 “ Germany ; but I can aver that the intention of this court
 “ corresponds perfectly with these principles.

“ I must confess to your majesty, that I am not authorized
 “ formally to guaranty this declaration in the name of the
 “ king my master, my instructions going no further than to
 “ exert myself, with all possible activity, to exhort this court
 “ to consent to the convention signed at Hanover, 26 Au-
 “ gust, N. S. 1745, and to persuade that of Vienna to ac-
 “ cept it.

“ These

" These instructions I cannot exceed; but this I can declare, that the king my master has nothing more at heart than to see the accomplishment of this convention.

" I can add, likewise, that I am convinced the king of Poland is sincerely disposed to accede to it purely and simply, and to live in perfect friendship with your majesty. If it be presuming too far to offer my sentiments, my zeal alone occasions the offence.

" I feel that I cannot better express than by silence the veneration with which I am,

" SIRE,

" Your majesty's devoted servant,

" THO. VILLIERS."

Declaration of the Ministry of Dresden, as delivered to Mr. Villiers, dated 3 December, 1745.

" We, the undersigned ministers of state of his majesty the king of Poland, are greatly obliged to the English envoy for the communication of the ulterior declaration of his Prussian majesty concerning the reconciliation proposed by count de Podewils.

" Yet, we greatly regret, at the same time, that the three points announced in the first declaration given from hence to the said envoy, have not been so well received as we had reason to hope. But, to remove every possibility of doubt, we do not hesitate a moment to declare, in the absence of the king our master, that his majesty is not only disposed but ready to re-establish harmony between himself and his Prussian majesty, on the footing of the convention concluded at Hanover the $\frac{1}{2}$ August of the present year 1745.

" In return for which, his Polish majesty promises himself, that, on his part, the king of Prussia, agreeable to his declaration already made, will, from the present moment, abstain from all hostilities, and marching of his troops; that he will exact no more deliveries, or ancient or new

“ contributions, and make good those already levied ; that
 “ he will, likewise, immediately withdraw all his troops from
 “ the king’s dominions, and not retain them on any pretext
 “ whatever ; that he will evacuate all the forts and places,
 “ and restore them in the state they were before they came
 “ into his possession ; that he will give up, and cause to be
 “ restored, all the monies seized on, whether royal property
 “ or belonging to individuals ; that he will not permit any
 “ injury to be done, in the retreat, either to the persons in the
 “ service of the king, or to his vassals, or any of his subjects,
 “ either in their persons or property ; and that he will re-
 “ lease, without ransom, all the king’s troops who are now
 “ prisoners.

“ Written at Dresden, 3 December, 1745.

Signed De GERSDORF,
 Le Comte de ZECH,
 Le Comte de HENNIKE,
 De REX.”

Answer of his Majesty the King of Prussia to the preceding Letter of Mr. Villiers.

“ Head-quarters, Bautzen, 5 December, 1745.

“ SIR,

“ I do not know whether the Saxons or I shall have the
 “ most obligation to you for the restoration of peace. The
 “ mischief I do my neighbours is greatly against my heart :
 “ I am compelled to proceed to this extremity, but I procure
 “ at the same time to the king of Poland every facility that
 “ depends on me to extricate himself from this embar-
 “ rassment.

“ It will be necessary, then, radically to put an end to this
 “ fatal war, for the king of Poland to expedite, without delay,
 “ full powers to one of his ministers, for whom I send you
 “ the annexed passport. I have dispatched orders to my ca-
 “ binet minister, count Podewils, to repair hither immedi-

“ ately ;

“ately; after which the convention may be properly drawn
“up, and, as soon as it shall be ratified by the king of Poland,
“I will evacuate his country and fortresses, and put a stop to
“hostilities.

“As for the article of the cessation of contributions, and
“the indemnification for damage done; the contributions
“cannot cease till after the king of Poland shall have ratified
“the preliminaries prepared by our ministers. And I can as
“little indemnify the king of Poland for the losses of his sub-
“jects, as he and the queen of Hungary will indemnify me
“for the damage they have done, and still continue to do me,
“in Silesia.

“You will do me a favour, sir, in accompanying the Saxon
“minister who is vested with full powers from his master;
“it will procure me the satisfaction of seeing a man whom I
“greatly esteem, and who, filled with the genuine sentiments
“a minister should have, procures peace and tranquillity to
“nations, by extinguishing the torch of discord and of war.

“I imagine, likewise, that you have no time to lose in pro-
“viding yourself with the necessary powers from your court
“for the guaranty of Great Britain, and to induce Mr. de
“Bestucheff, and the Dutch minister, to act in consequence.

“I consider this peace as the basis of the pacification of
“Germany. Either the queen of Hungary will at once ac-
“cede to it, or she will not long delay her acquiescence.

“I have, notwithstanding, learnt, with pain, that the king
“of Poland has quitted his capital. This is a kind of insult
“to my sentiments. I have always personally esteemed him;
“and, in the bitterest animosity of war, his character and his
“family should have been respected. You may assure this
“prince of the cordiality and sincerity of my feelings; and
“that it depends solely on himself, whether the courts shall
“live, henceforward, in the strictest friendship. I beg you to
“be assured of the sentiments of esteem with which I am, &c.

“FREDERICK.”

Letter from Mr. Villiers to his Majesty the King of Prussia.

“ Prague, 9 December, 1745.

“ SIRE,

“ I have waited upon the king of Poland, that I might ex-
 “ ecute, with more exactitude, your majesty’s orders. This
 “ is the reason why I only received yesterday those with
 “ which your majesty honours me of the 5th instant. I im-
 “ mediately communicated them to count Brühl; and, the
 “ better to convince his Polish majesty of your majesty’s sen-
 “ timents towards him, I even took the liberty to give him
 “ an extract of your majesty’s letter, convinced that your ex-
 “ pressions of friendship would have suffered in being con-
 “ veyed by me. If in this I have exceeded your majesty’s
 “ intentions, it is only from a desire of accomplishing them
 “ better. It is enough for me to know them, religiously
 “ to observe them. Count Brühl has just given me the an-
 “ nexed memoir by way of answer. Your majesty has shewn
 “ such anxiety to restore tranquillity to Germany, you un-
 “ derstand her interests so well, and discriminate so clearly
 “ every circumstance connected with them, that I am for-
 “ bidden to alledge my reasons on the subject. I only venture
 “ to repeat, that this court, not less ardently than that of
 “ your majesty, desires the re-establishment of harmony and
 “ the attainment of the general object which your majesty
 “ proposes. It is to be hoped, therefore, that, being of ac-
 “ cord respecting the principles, no difference will arise con-
 “ cerning the means, and that the trifling delay in the dis-
 “ patching of a minister will scarcely produce any in the ad-
 “ vancement of the work, though the smallest delay cannot
 “ but afflict those who really wish well.

“ My hope is founded in your majesty’s greatness of soul.
 “ Your moderation, sire, will not cover you with less glory
 “ than your victories. Perhaps I say too much, though I
 “ suppress more than I utter. I cannot express my impa-

“ tience

"tience to pay my court to your majesty, and to merit what
 "you have been pleased to declare on my account. I hope it
 "will appear by my zeal for your service, and by the de-
 "votion with which I am,

"SIRE,

"Your majesty's, &c.

"THO. VILLIERS."

"P. S. I have not failed to acquaint my court with what
 "your majesty has done me the honour of saying to me
 "touching the guaranty of Great Britain. I shall follow,
 "with the same exactness, your majesty's orders respecting
 "Mr. de Bestucheff and the minister from Holland.

Memorial of the Court of Dresden.

"Prague, 9 December, 1745.

"Respecting what the envoy from England has communi-
 "cated of the answer received from his Prussian majesty, and
 "a report of which has been made to the king of Poland;
 "his majesty orders the said British minister to be informed,
 "that, after having, on his side, displayed so much willing-
 "ness to re-establish an accommodation and harmony with his
 "Prussian majesty, by declaring himself ready to accede to
 "the convention of Hanover, he had hoped that the said
 "king would not refuse to accept the conditions annexed to
 "that amicable declaration, namely, the cessation of hosti-
 "lities, and of the exaction of the contributions demanded,
 "and the restitution of those already levied.

"This refusal cannot but the more sensibly affect his Polish
 "majesty, as it shews him the ruin of his country, especially
 "considering the rigour with which the payment of the con-
 "tributions is pressed, not to speak of the inhabitants carried
 "off by force, the recruits exacted from the country, and
 "other innumerable molestations, exercised contrary to the
 "union

“ union of electors, the family compacts subsisting between
 “ the two houses, and against all the laws of the empire.

“ His Polish majesty has nothing more at heart than to re-
 “ concile himself sincerely to the king of Prussia, and would
 “ wish it might be effected conjointly with her majesty
 “ the empress. The means of attaining this is not, it
 “ may be believed, by previously ruining Saxony in such a
 “ manner as that it will not be able to recover for many
 “ years.

“ This is carrying points to such an extremity, that, what-
 “ soever ruin may ensue, his Polish majesty cannot be reduced
 “ to the necessity of entering into such an accommodation,
 “ it being his duty, in that case, rather to sacrifice even to his
 “ very last man, and wait for indemnity in the end, by the
 “ succour of his allies and of the whole empire.

“ Besides, if his Prussian majesty, who knows the source
 “ of this war, had ever wished, or still wishes, to enter into
 “ the just views of his Polish majesty, the sending a minister
 “ furnished with the full powers necessary to conclude an ac-
 “ commodation between the two courts, would not have been
 “ accompanied by the smallest difficulty; and the king is
 “ quite ready to expedite such an accommodation as soon as
 “ his Prussian majesty shall have declared himself more fa-
 “ vourably on the above-mentioned points, and given, with-
 “ out delay, the necessary orders to desist from harrassing the
 “ country.

“ As for the rest, the king feels, in all their force, the sen-
 “ timents of esteem which his Prussian majesty professes to
 “ bear him. He will always preserve a similarity of attach-
 “ ment, and never forget the respect due to every sovereign,
 “ and more especially to crowned heads.

“ Accordingly, his majesty, who judges of other sovereigns
 “ by himself, would never have quitted his capital and coun-
 “ try to take refuge here, had he not apprehended that no

“ more

“ more respect would be observed in an open war, than has
 “ been shewn in the publications which preceded it.

“ In other respects, he meets the politeness of his Prussian
 “ majesty with all possible gratitude, and will not fail, after
 “ the noble assurance which has been given of a determination
 “ to preserve inviolate the security of his capital, to return
 “ to it.

“ Requesting, accordingly, the envoy of England to com-
 “ municate the contents of this memorial to his Prussian ma-
 “ jesty, all points whatever shall, in the expectation of a
 “ favourable answer, be eventually prepared for the moment
 “ when it may become necessary to send off a minister.

“ Done at Prague this 9th of December, 1745.”

Answer of his Majesty the King of Prussia to Mr. Villiers.

“ Head-Quarters, Bautzen, 11 December, 1745.

“ SIR,

“ I cannot sufficiently extol the earnestness and activity
 “ you manifest in recommending peace and accommodation
 “ to the king of Poland. As much as I have reason to be
 “ satisfied, sir, with your conduct, as much am I astonished,
 “ that neither you, by your indefatigable pains, nor I, with
 “ so much moderation, and the advantages of fortune, are
 “ able to bend the irreconcilable spirit of the court of
 “ Dresden.

“ I confess it was difficult to conceive that a court which
 “ thought itself obliged to abandon its capital should attempt
 “ to prescribe hard laws, at a time, too, when its friendship
 “ and peace were sincerely asked for. It will depend on the
 “ king of Poland to effect it at all times, and when he shall
 “ think proper. On my side, I follow the laws of war, and
 “ repeat to you, what I have already said in my preceding
 “ letter, that, on the day of the signature of the treaty by
 “ the king of Poland, all hostilities and ulterior contributions
 “ shall cease.

“ If

“ If fortune had favoured the arms of my enemies, I much
 “ doubt whether they would have been contented with le-
 “ vying contributions on my country, and whether all parts
 “ of it would not have been exposed to fire and sword, and
 “ the sacrifice of whole provinces demanded at my hands.
 “ After this, you will allow that my proceedings have been
 “ much more humane ; and that, if I have had the good for-
 “ tune to overturn the dangerous projects formed against me
 “ by the courts of Vienna and Dresden, I have only availed
 “ myself of the rights of war, as practised by all Europe. If
 “ it be true, that the king of Poland wishes to avoid the ruin
 “ of his hereditary states, it seems to me that the surest me-
 “ thod of preventing it is to accept the peace which I so
 “ cordially offer : for all the world will agree, that eighty
 “ thousand men, though not actuated by hatred and animos-
 “ ity, cannot, in a country like Saxony, fail to ruin it in the
 “ end.

“ My hands are innocent of all the evil that shall happen ;
 “ and I call Heaven, and the eyes of all Europe, to witness,
 “ that, if the king of Poland persists in his irreconcilable
 “ disposition, no person can condemn me, if, on my side, I
 “ push matters to the utmost extremity. For the love of hu-
 “ manity, sir, exert all your endeavours to prevent two
 “ neighbouring houses from tearing each other to pieces. Be
 “ you the organ of my sentiments, as you are the depositary
 “ of my interests, and save Saxony from her present cala-
 “ mities, and the greatest of misfortunes which now hangs
 “ over her. I am, &c.

“ FREDERICK.”

“ P. S. Count Podewils is here since yesterday ; he will
 “ still wait to see if there be no method of bringing the
 “ Saxon minister to more just and equitable sentiments. Let
 “ the king of Poland, then, profit by my disposition, and not
 “ drive me to extremities.

“ I shall send you, to-morrow, my remarks on the memo-
 “ rial

“rial of count Brühl: you will make what use of them you
 “think proper; and, in case you should conceive them less
 “framed to conciliate than to imbitter their minds, it will
 “depend on you not to attempt to avail yourself of them at
 “court.

“In the interim, I depart to give fresh activity to my ope-
 “rations, and provide for my own security, whether by
 “crushing my enemies, or by obliging them to make a rea-
 “sonable peace. Let what will happen, I shall always grate-
 “fully remember your laudable proceedings, and, if I can
 “be useful to you at your court, I will warmly employ all
 “my credit, to prove to you that you have not served an un-
 “grateful man.”

Letter from Count Podewils to Mr. Villiers.

“Bautzen, 12 December, 1745.

“SIR,

“I have the honour to communicate to you, by order of
 “the king my master, the annexed reflections on the memo-
 “rial transmitted to you by the court of Saxony, dated at
 “Prague the 9th of this month. I am persuaded, sir, that so
 “well-intentioned and so enlightened a minister as you are
 “will make the best use in the world of them.

“It seems to me, that the speedy dispatch of a minister,
 “furnished with full powers from the court at which you re-
 “side for the conclusion of peace, would greatly advance so
 “salutary a work, and perhaps conciliate opinions.

“Can it be possible that they should so little understand
 “their interests in Saxony, as to push the king to extremities
 “by the extraordinary demand of a cessation of hostilities
 “and contributions previous to the signature of peace? Did
 “any person ever before attempt to dictate the law in this
 “manner to the conqueror? And should not they profit in
 “Saxony by the king’s moderation, who is pleased, notwith-

“standing

“ standing his advantages, to limit himself to the simple re-
 “ establiſhment of the peace he offers, and which the court
 “ you are at have in their hands, by putting an end to all
 “ warlike movements from the very day of the ſignature of
 “ peace ?

“ As for the reſt, ſir, it ſeems as if they wiſhed to give you
 “ an unfavourable impreſſion, by ill-founded imputations of
 “ the king’s intentions to ruin Saxony, whoſe inhabitants
 “ cannot ſufficiently acknowledge the good order and exact
 “ diſcipline his majeſty has made his troops obſerve in all the
 “ country they occupy, to the diſgrace of the allies of Saxony,
 “ who have ravaged it wherever they have paſſed. You muſt
 “ be ſenſible that this is not the manner of acting when the
 “ object is to ruin a country. But contributions and the
 “ ſubſiſtence of an army form too eſſential a part of the laws
 “ of the war we have been compelled to wage to leave any
 “ room for cenſure as long as it continues, eſpecially when
 “ it reſts wholly with the country itſelf, as is the caſe with
 “ Saxony, to put an end to it at any day.

“ Let us redouble our pains, by making peace with the
 “ court where you reſide, to lay the foundation of the tran-
 “ quillity of Germany, and to acquit ourſelves worthily,
 “ both one and the other of us, of the moſt glorious taſk of
 “ our miniſtry, which is to contribute, as far as lies in us, to
 “ the happineſs of nations. My ſtay in this country will not
 “ belong. I ſhall be greatly afflicted, ſhould my journey be-
 “ come entirely fruitleſs, and ſhould I thus find myſelf de-
 “ prived of the ſatiſfaction of aſſuring you, in perſon, that
 “ nothing can add to the ſentiments of reſpect and eſteem
 “ with which I have the honour to be, &c.

“ The Count de PODEWILS.”

Remarks on the Memorial of the Court of Dresden.

“ If the king has hitherto continued to give proofs of his
 “ moderation and ſincere deſire of attaining the re-eſtabliſh-
 “ ment

“ment of a solid peace and strict union and harmony with
“the court of Dresden, by a treaty duly concluded, signed,
“and ratified between the belligerent powers, as usage and
“necessity as well as the security of the two courts demand,
“his majesty did not expect, that, instead of sending hither a
“minister vested with full powers, the more speedily to terminate so salutary a work, and put an end to the calamities
“of a war which the court of Dresden has drawn upon herself by her own fault, the same court should wish to prolong them by the exorbitant and unusual demand of restitutions, and previous reparations of all the inconveniencies which are the ordinary and inevitable consequences
“of a war to which the king was forced by the conduct maintained at Dresden respecting him, as it is known to
“all Europe.

“The court of Saxony should be thankful for the king’s way of thinking, and acknowledge, as the most signal mark
“of his moderation and pacific sentiments, that his majesty, instead of insisting on a full and entire indemnity for the
“invasion and ravages committed by the combined Austrian and Saxon army in Silesia, by the contributions and forage
“extorted from the inhabitants, and by the ruin of the richest countries in the duchy, is pleased to forget the past,
“and demands merely a peace, and the security of his states
“against a neighbour, who, not content with having invaded
“Silesia, was on the point of making a similar attempt with
“the foreign succours he had invited into the heart of his
“provinces, by falling upon his majesty’s ancient hereditary
“states with fire and sword.

“If, therefore, the king generously renounces his just demand against Saxony of all indemnity for the past, much
“more should the latter follow this example in the present
“case, wherein she cannot be ignorant that the laws of war
“fully authorize the inconveniencies of which she complains.

“All

“ All that can be required with justice and reason on such
 “ an occasion, is to cease hostilities, contributions, and sub-
 “ sistence for the troops, from the day of the conclusion and
 “ signature of peace.

“ Such is the usage uniformly established and constantly
 “ practised between all sovereigns in war, and in every treaty
 “ of peace that is concluded.

“ To wish to depart from it, and obstinately to insist on
 “ the contrary, is tantamount to a refusal of all reasonable
 “ terms of accommodation.

“ In this situation the two courts now stand, and the
 “ king’s offers on this head as decisively justify his conduct,
 “ as the refusal of the court of Dresden to acquiesce in it
 “ affords room to doubt of its sincere wishes for a speedy ac-
 “ commodation. It is with a bad grace that the appeal is
 “ made at Dresden to the union of the electors, the family
 “ compacts between the two houses, and the laws of the em-
 “ pire. These respectable barriers should have stopped and
 “ prevented the court of Saxony from proceeding to the first
 “ attack on the king’s dominions, and from conspiring to
 “ bring on that total ruin with which she has publicly me-
 “ naced them. It is for the king, as the party injured and
 “ attacked, that these engagements and these laws speak,
 “ against his enemies and aggressors, who, after doing him
 “ every possible mischief, and failing in that which they had
 “ prepared for him, ought to acknowledge themselves in the
 “ wrong, and esteem themselves very happy that he contents
 “ himself with obliterating every trace of the past, and of-
 “ fering his hand to a reciprocal abolition of all sorts of in-
 “ demnity. Can this be called pushing things to extremity
 “ on the part of the king, and seeking the total ruin of a
 “ country, which his majesty wishes with so much ardour to
 “ prevent by a speedy conclusion of peace, and by a total ces-
 “ sation of all hostilities and contributions from the day of
 “ the signature of peace ?

“ Whose

" Whose fault will it prove, if Saxony continues to suffer
 " the calamities of a defensive war, on the part of the king,
 " who offers, and who presses to put an end to them by the
 " mere restoration of peace, without requiring the smallest
 " sacrifice or indemnity? Who will become the cause of the
 " prolongation of the troubles? Is it the person who insists
 " on a speedy accommodation to terminate them, or he who
 " tacks to it conditions never admitted under the customs
 " which have prevailed, in the course of any war whatso-
 " ever, from the commencement of the universe; and such as
 " the king's advantages have converted into a nature which
 " cannot admit even of a proposition, granting that a sincere
 " wish of accommodation with him actually existed?

" As for the rest, if the king of Poland, as the memorial
 " insinuates, does sincerely wish for a reconciliation with the
 " king, in concert with the court of Vienna, his majesty will
 " never be removed from it; and let the court of Dresden re-
 " collect that the choice is left with it, either to make peace
 " separately, or conjointly with that of Vienna, with the king,
 " who, on his side, has given so many openings to one and to
 " the other, that he may boldly defy all Europe to impute to
 " him the smallest reproach respecting the purity of his sen-
 " timents on that subject.

" It is to be hoped, however, that the court of Dresden,
 " reflecting on the present situation of its affairs, and on the
 " cruel necessity to which it has reduced the king, of availing
 " himself of his advantages to procure all imaginable security,
 " will no longer defer sending a minister authorized speedily
 " to conclude a peace so desirable and so necessary to the re-
 " ciprocal welfare of both states, without making so salutary
 " a work hinge on demands incompatible with the laws of
 " war, and the usages invariably practised on similar occasions.
 " This will be the touchstone of the sincerity of the court of
 " Dresden; and should it refuse, no other conclusions can be
 " drawn, but that it is intended to amuse the king, make

“ him forfeit his present advantages, and thus gain sufficient
 “ time to carry into execution the vast projects meditated
 “ against his majesty’s dominions, which divine Providence,
 “ and the glorious success of the king’s arms, have hitherto so
 “ happily frustrated.”

Letter from Mr. Villiers to his Majesty the King of Prussia.

“ Prague, 13 December, 1745.

“ SIRE,

“ In consequence of your majesty’s orders of the 11th in-
 “ stant, I have again represented here your sentiments in fa-
 “ vour of peace, and of the person of the king of Poland; nor
 “ have I either failed to state your majesty’s resolutions to
 “ continue warlike operations until the accommodation shall
 “ be ascertained, or remained silent concerning the miseries
 “ which will result from them to Saxony, though conducted
 “ without hatred or animosity, and by troops whose discipline,
 “ as well as bravery, constitute the admiration of Europe. I
 “ have again taken the liberty to make use of an extract of
 “ your majesty’s letter, in order to convey, with precision
 “ and energy, the intimation of your wishes for the welfare
 “ of Germany. Count Brühl has just desired me to let your
 “ majesty know, that the mind of the king his master is al-
 “ ways sincerely disposed to a reconciliation with your ma-
 “ jesty, and that he will send Mr. Saul this evening to Dres-
 “ den, to inform his cabinet of the instructions to be given to
 “ the minister to be employed in this negociation, and who
 “ will be expedited without loss of time.

“ The king of Poland wishes me to go with this minister.
 “ My obedience to his orders will be accompanied with the
 “ greatest anxiety to pay my court to your majesty. Count
 “ Brühl thinks that the minister in question will be able to set
 “ out about Saturday or Sunday. In the mean while, they
 “ acknowledge the necessity of procuring subsistence for the
 “ troops;

"troops ; but flatter themselves that those of your majesty
"will require nothing more.

"As this answer seems to pave the way for your majesty's
"main object, I communicate it to your majesty, without
"waiting for the remarks you have the goodness to say you
"will send me on the memorial of this court of the 9th
"instant.

"Your majesty's expressions, full of indulgence, embolden
"me to offer to your consideration, whether the best method
"of bringing this great work sooner to perfection, and of
"rendering it more solid, would not be by engaging the court
"of Vienna to partake in it. The conversations I have had
"with count Harrach, since I came here, give me reason to
"hope that means might be found with his mistress, who is
"ready to live in perfect friendship with your majesty, if it
"were possible to obtain (as he says) some qualification of
"the articles of the convention of Hanover. Your majesty's
"approbation would augment, if that were possible, my zeal
"for your service. It is a recompense far beyond my merit.
"The study of my life shall be to preserve it, and to evince
"the perfect devotion with which I am,

"SIRE,

"Your majesty's most submissive,

"And most faithful servant,

"THO. VILLIERS."

Answer of his Majesty the King of Prussia to Mr. Villiers.

"Dresden, 18 December, 1745.

"SIR,

"I was greatly surprised at receiving propositions of peace
"upon the day of a battle, and I am sufficiently convinced of
"the want of sincerity of the Saxon ministers by the return
"of prince Charles of Lorraine into Saxony. Fortune,
"which has seconded my cause, has enabled me very power-
"fully to resent this sort of proceeding ; but, far from enter-

“ taining such sentiments, I again offer, for the last time, my
 “ friendship to the king of Poland. My successes do not
 “ blind me ; and though I might have reason to be elated
 “ with my situation, I still remain in the same sentiments of
 “ preferring peace to war ; and I wait only till Mr. de Bu-
 “ low and Mr. Rex receive their full powers to enter into
 “ a conference with count Podewils, who will arrive here
 “ this evening or to-morrow.

“ I cannot, however, conceal from you my surprise, that
 “ an English minister should advise me to depart from a treaty
 “ I have made with the king his master, and which is gua-
 “ rantied by Great Britain.

“ You are more likely to perceive me perish, with my
 “ whole army, than relax from the smallest minutiae of this
 “ treaty. If the queen of Hungary, then, once for all, wishes
 “ to make peace, I am ready to sign it, agreeable to the con-
 “ vention of Hanover ; and, should she totally reject it, I shall
 “ stand justified in raising my pretensions on her.

“ Let me know, therefore, the last resolutions of the king
 “ of Poland, that I may learn, whether he prefers the total
 “ ruin of his country to its preservation ; and, in a word,
 “ whether he is inclined rather to excite the fatal combustion
 “ of this war, than to return to peace with his neighbours,
 “ and pacify Germany. I am, with all possible esteem, &c.

“ FREDERICK.”

(51) *Relation of the Battle of Kesselsdorf.*

“ The 14th of December the army marched in four co-
 “ lumns, and directed its course towards the village of
 “ Rœhrsdorf, in order of battle.

“ The next day, the 15th, the march was continued in
 “ four columns, and the army passed to the right of the small
 “ town of Wilsdorf. The van-guard, entirely composed of
 “ hussars, began to skirmish at this place with Sybilsky's
 “ corps, and, after more than half an hour's march, we per-

“ ceived

"ceived the enemy's army drawn up in front upon the
 "heights of Bennerich and Kesselsdorf, so as to have their
 "right wing opposite to Bennerich, and their left behind
 "Kesselsdorf, which count Roudowsky had filled with seven
 "or eight battalions of grenadiers, Austrian and Saxon, and
 "a considerable number of cannon. All his first line, and
 "the greatest part of his second, from the left wing to the
 "centre, were infantry. The remainder of his second line,
 "and all the third, consisted of cavalry. The batteries on
 "the front and flanks of Kesselsdorf were supported on the
 "right by twelve squadrons of dragoons, and on the left by
 "Sybilsky's corps, and some companies of grenadiers, posted
 "in the ravins and hollow ways. The left wing commenced
 "behind the village, extending towards that of Zœlmen; it
 "was likewise covered by a great battery: the centre behind
 "Zœlmen had in front a morass and two batteries. The
 "right in front of the village of Bennerich was fortified by
 "a battery and by the valley of Züsche, which rendered the
 "approach to it almost impossible. A little higher, to the
 "right, between the villages of Ockerwitz and Brisewitz,
 "count Grunn's corps was stationed, except the two cavalry
 "regiments of Bentheim and Hohenzollern, which com-
 "posed the right wing of the second line of the Saxons.

"The prince of Anhalt, having examined the position of the
 "enemy, determined to make his attack on the left; confi-
 "dent of victory, if he could once get possession of the post
 "of Kesselsdorf, and thus gain the flank. For this pur-
 "pose, he ranged his army so that the right of his cavalry
 "passed the front of the village between the prince's road
 "and the wood called Lark's Bush (*Lerchenbusch*). The
 "whole infantry formed two lines between this little wood
 "and the great birch-tree, by the road of Wildrouff; and
 "the cavalry of the left filled the intermediate space between
 "the road and the village of Roëtsch, forming a front like-
 "wise to the whole extent of the Saxon army, without

“ giving himself much concern about count Grunn’s corps,
“ which, by searching for an inaccessible post, had so covered
“ itself with ravins, morasses, and defiles, as to render it im-
“ possible to quit it so as to make a forward movement. It
“ was now two o’clock in the afternoon, and the shortness of
“ the days not allowing any superfluous arrangements, the
“ prince lost no time in commencing the attack of the vil-
“ lage by three battalions of grenadiers under major-general
“ Hertzberg, followed by three battalions of the regiment
“ of Anhalt, and supported by five squadrons of Stille’s
“ cuirassiers. They marched up with great intrepidity; but
“ the fire of thirty cannon well served, and that of seven
“ battalions of grenadiers who occupied the village, was so
“ destructive, that they were obliged to turn a little to the
“ right, in order to avoid sacrificing the whole body at one
“ blow. The same attack, however, was re-commenced,
“ but proved still more disastrous; which encouraged the
“ enemy’s grenadiers to make a sally, the better to repulse the
“ assailants, or perhaps to seize their field-pieces. This
“ sally it was which caused their ruin, and preserved the
“ Prussians: for, the prince having ordered the dragoons of
“ Bonin to precipitate themselves full speed upon the grena-
“ diers, they soon carried their point, overthrew them, and,
“ at once, entered with them into the village, where they oc-
“ casioned a dreadful carnage, whilst some battalions took
“ possession of the batteries and of this whole post; and the
“ regiment of Stille’s cuirassiers, leaving Kesselsdorf on the
“ right, drove away the infantry and cavalry remaining in
“ the defiles and on the heights, and gained even the flank of
“ their army.

“ During this occurrence, our whole front advanced, and
“ the action became almost general. The right wing of our
“ infantry passed the village and its environs, pushed the ene-
“ my’s regiments that were in their way, and threw both
“ their lines into confusion; and the more so as the cavalry

“ of

"of our right not only completely gained their flank, but
 "also attacked them in the rear, having met with but little
 "vigour in the greatest part of the enemy's squadrons, who,
 "after the first shock, gave way and quitted the field. This
 "movement was accompanied by that of the centre and the
 "left wing. From the latter some battalions were detached,
 "who took post towards Zœlmen, where they maintained
 "themselves in spite of the difficulty of the ground and the
 "terrible fire of the Saxon artillery, which continued to batter
 "their flanks. Shortly after, the whole line advanced across
 "the morasses between Kesselsdorf, Zœlmen, and Bennerich,
 "attacked the centre and right of the enemy, and put them
 "to flight without much resistance, their left wing being al-
 "ready completely beaten. There still remained fifty squa-
 "drons on the heights behind Zœlmen, which might have
 "done some mischief had they fallen on our battalions,
 "which, having hastily passed the ravins behind the bank, and
 "without taking time to rally, mounted towards the heights
 "in unformed bodies. But their fire, irregular as it was, in
 "advancing rapidly towards this cavalry, so disconcerted
 "them, that they wheeled about, and thought of nothing
 "but escaping; whilst the corps under count Grunn, which
 "had remained quiet spectators of the affair, retreated also,
 "and augmented the number of the fugitives. Thus the
 "defeat of the enemy was total."

(52) See *Letter from the King of Prussia to Mr. Villiers, from Dresden, December 18, 1745, p. 339.*

(53) Extract of the articles of the treaty of peace of Dresden, between the king of Prussia and the king of Poland, elector of Saxony.

Art. I. There shall be a solid peace and reconciliation, and a sincere friendship, and strict union and good neighbourhood, between his majesty the king of Prussia on the one

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hand,

hand, and his majesty the king of Poland on the other; so that the two high contracting parties shall cultivate with each other perfect harmony and good understanding, by striving to advance their mutual interests, and remove every obstacle which may either trouble or encroach upon them.

Art. II. There shall likewise be a general amnesty and eternal oblivion between their said majesties of all that has passed on occasion of the present war, and no indemnity shall be further mentioned or demanded; but all the reciprocal pretensions occasioned by the two last wars, after the death of Charles V. between their majesties the king of Prussia and the king of Poland, whether by the entrance or passage of the troops on one side or the other into their reciprocal states, or for other exactions, contributions, forage, magazines, or military excesses, and other damages, of what nature and under what name soever they may be, shall remain extinct, annulled, and annihilated, and no further mention be ever made of them.

Art. III. All hostilities and military operations, on one side and the other, shall entirely cease, reckoning from the date of the present treaty of peace, if they have not already ceased: and, as for contributions, the states of Saxony and the city of Leipzig, under the special guaranty and the most speedy execution of his majesty the king of Poland, solemnly engage and firmly promise to pay to his majesty the king of Prussia, besides the contributions or such other sums as he may have already drawn, under what pretext soever, until the 22d of this month, from the countries belonging to the king of Poland, the further sum of one million of German crowns, at the rate of 24 gros per crown; which sum shall be paid to his Majesty the king of Prussia, in ready money and in good ducats and louis d'or, at the next fair of Leipzig in 1746, with an interest of five per cent. reckoning from the 23d of this month until the term of payment; and his said majesty the king of Poland engages and promises to take care, as guarantee of the said payment, that it shall take place at

the

the stipulated term, without the smallest abatement, liquidation, compensation, or exception, under whatever denomination, pretext, or nature they may be: on which conditions his majesty the king of Prussia has ceased, from the 22d of this month, all contributions and demands in money, recruits, horses, waggons, and drivers, in all the electorate of Saxony and its dependencies, and namely in Upper and Lower Lusatia, the whole in conformity with the act of assurance given by the council of state of his majesty the king of Poland, dated at Dresden the 21st of this month, which act shall be restored to the said ministry, after the payment of the said sum of one million of German crowns. But if, contrary to all expectation, and from the impossibility of his majesty's orders, though expedited and sent off the 21st of this month, being able to reach in time certain remote places, it should happen, from ignorance, that the said orders may have been contravened on the 22d or 23d, and some money taken here and there, the disposition of what is above stipulated shall not remain less valid, nor shall any pretext be thence admitted to set it aside.

The armies of the king of Prussia shall totally evacuate all the countries and hereditary states, towns, places, and forts, belonging to his majesty the king of Poland, in the state they were found in, with respect to their fortifications, defences, and enclosures, when occupied, restoring their arms to the inhabitants of such places, except such as have been found to belong to the army of his Prussian majesty, and have been purchased from Prussian deserters, in the space of 15 days at farthest, reckoning from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and this shall commence by the evacuation of the city of Dresden immediately after the exchange of ratifications, and that of Leipzig the eighth day after, &c.

Art. IV. All the Saxon officers and soldiers, prisoners, including the cadets and militia of the country, shall be released without

without ransom, and their arms restored after the ratification of the present treaty, except those who have entered into the service of his Prussian majesty; but the militia-men shall be restored, who are established and have possessions in the country.

Art. V. His majesty the king of Poland engages for himself and his successors and heirs of both sexes, in perpetuity, to accede to and accept, purely and simply, the convention concluded at Hanover the 26th of August, new stile, of this year, between his majesty the king of Prussia and his majesty the king of Great Britain, for the restoration of peace in Germany.

Art. VI. His majesty the king of Poland engages and promises, likewise, to furnish, in the space of three weeks from the date hereof, on the part of her majesty the queen his consort, for her and her heirs of both sexes, a solemn act of cession of the eventual claims they might one day make, by virtue of the pragmatic sanction, of the house of Austria, and as eventual heirs of that house, after its extinction, to all the countries and states ceded by the court of Vienna, by the treaty of Breslaw, of the year 1742, to his majesty the king of Prussia, his heirs, and successors, of both sexes, in perpetuity, further promising never to molest his Prussian majesty, his heirs, and successors, of either sex, for ever, in the quiet and peaceable possession of the said states and countries ceded by the treaty of Breslaw, under any name, title, or pretext whatsoever, either directly or indirectly; as likewise always to give his majesty the king of Prussia, his heirs, and successors, the same titles with respect to those states, as stipulated in the said treaty of Breslaw.

Art. VII. To obviate all contestations and disputes which have arisen between his majesty and the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, respecting the toll at Fürstenberg on the Oder, and on the passage of Schildo, his majesty the king of Poland, for himself, his heirs, &c. cedes to his Prussian majesty,

jeſty, his heirs, &c. againſt an equivalent of ſome parcels of Sileſia, interlocked within Luſatia, or ſuch ſimilar equivalent in lands or ſubjects (and the high contracting parties ſhall name commissioners to regulate the affair and complete the exchange in the ſpace of ſix weeks from the date of the ſignature of the preſent treaty, in ſuch a way as that neither of the high contracting parties ſhall loſe by the exchange), the town and toll of Fürſtenberg on the Oder, with its dependencies, and the village of Schildo, reſerving, however, the rights of individuals and the *dominium utile* they may have there; ſo that the two banks of the Oder on this ſide ſhall henceforward belong to the king of Pruſſia, his ſucceſſors, &c. and his majeſty the king of Poland, and his ſucceſſors, can no longer pretend to or eſtabliſh any other toll on the Oder, or in any way whatever interrupt its free courſe, in like manner as his majeſty the king of Pruſſia can never make any claim on the equivalent he ſhall cede to the king of Poland.

Art. VIII. The Proteſtant religion ſhall be maintained and preſerved in all the ſtates and provinces of the electorate of Saxony, including Upper and Lower Luſatia, as well as in all the ſtates and provinces of his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, according to the tenor of the peace of Weſtphalia, without ſuffering at any time the ſmalleſt innovation.

Art. IX. The cartel concluded at Breſlaw in 1741, between their majeſties the king of Pruſſia and the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, ſhall ſubſiſt in all its force, and be religiously obſerved on one ſide and the other.

Art. X. All abuſes which have been introduced into commerce, to the prejudice of the countries, ſtates, and reſpective ſubjects of the two contracting powers, ſhall be reciprocally and faithfully redreſſed, either by entirely abolishing them on one ſide and the other, or by arranging the matter amicably in a ſubſequent convention.

His

His majesty the king of Prussia will, also, grant a free passage on passports from his Polish majesty, and on those of the court for Silesia in Poland, as well for what his majesty shall cause to be either imported or exported from or into Poland or Saxony.

Art. XI. All the vassals and subjects of his majesty the king of Prussia, as well as those who are in his service, whether military or civil, and who have capitals in Saxony, shall be faithfully reimbursed their capitals and interest, at their term of payment, according to the tenor of their obligations.

Art. XII. His majesty the king of Poland shall act, with respect to the Electoral Palatine house, in conformity with the XIth article of the convention of Hanover *, of the 26 August of the present year.

Art. XIII. Her majesty the empress of all the Russias, his majesty the king of Great Britain, and their high mightinesses the States General of the Low Countries, shall be invited by the two contracting parties to be pleased to guaranty this treaty of peace, reconciliation, and amity; but it shall not the less exist in all its force, and in all its points and articles, even should not these guaranties be obtained.

Art. XIV. The present treaty of peace shall be ratified on one side and the other, and the ratifications be expedited and exchanged in the space of eight or ten days from the date of the signature of this treaty, or sooner if may be.

Extract of the Treaty of Peace between the Empress-Queen and the King of Prussia.

Dresden, 25 December, 1745.

Art. I. There shall be a peace, and constant and inviolable friendship, between the contracting parties, &c.

Art. II. The preliminary articles of the peace of Breslaw, of the 11th of June, 1742, and the definitive treaty of the

* See the Convention of Hanover, p. 351.

same peace, signed at Berlin 28th of July of the same year, as likewise the fixation of the limits of the year 1742, and the convention of the preliminary articles of peace signed at Hanover the 26th of August of the present year, shall serve as the foundation and basis of the present definitive treaty of peace between her majesty the empress-queen and the king of Prussia, &c. all the above-mentioned treaties being hereby renewed and confirmed in the strongest and most solemn manner, with all the renunciations made by solemn acts, as well on the part of the princes of the house royal of Prussia and the electoral house of Brandenburg, as on the part of the states of Bohemia, which said acts on one side and the other are deemed to subsist for ever, &c. and as her majesty the empress-queen renounces all the pretensions she might have or form against the states of his majesty the king of Prussia, and on all those which have been ceded to him by the treaty of Breslaw, as also all recompense and indemnity for the losses and damages she and her states may have suffered in the late war, and all sorts of pretensions and other demands for arrears of contributions, as well ancient as modern, &c. in the states of his majesty the king of Prussia, namely, in those which were ceded to him by the treaty of Breslaw, repeating every thing that has been stipulated in article V. of that treaty, to abolish on one side and the other all pretensions of what nature soever; her Imperial majesty renounces in like manner all expectancies and survivorships which the deceased emperor Charles VI. might have granted on the fiefs, lands, &c. in the countries ceded by the treaty of Breslaw.

His majesty the king of Prussia renounces in like manner all pretensions on the states and countries of her majesty the empress-queen, as likewise all recompense and indemnity for losses and damages sustained in the late-war, &c. &c.

Art. III. There shall be on one side and the other an eternal oblivion and general amnesty of all hostilities, losses, damages, and injuries committed on both sides, &c.

Art.

Art. IV. All hostilities on one side and the other shall cease as well in Silesia as in the county of Glatz, and in Bohemia and Moravia, the 28th of this month; and her majesty the empress-queen promises to evacuate, within twelve days from the signature of the present treaty, all the countries, cities, places, &c. of all the states ceded by the treaty of Breslaw to his majesty the king of Prussia; and his Prussian majesty shall withdraw his troops, within the same term, from the states and countries belonging to the empress-queen, putting every thing on the footing regulated by the recital of the limits made after the peace of Breslaw.

Her majesty the empress-queen will also restore, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty of peace, to his majesty the king of Prussia, the barony of Tournhout, situated in Brabant, with its dependencies, &c.

Art. V. All the prisoners made during the late war shall be immediately released on both sides without ransom, and faithfully exchanged.

Her majesty the empress-queen will equally cause to be restored to liberty, by the admiralty of Ostend, all the subjects, sailors, and vessels, of his majesty the king of Prussia, taken by the privateers of that town, with all the persons, effects, and merchandize, found on board the said vessels.

Art. VI. Her majesty the empress-queen, and his majesty the king of Prussia, engage mutually to favour the commerce between their respective states, countries, and subjects.

Art. VII. His majesty the king of Prussia engages to accede, by his electoral voice, to the election made of the new chief of the empire, and to acknowledge the grand duke of Tuscany in quality of emperor, as likewise the activity of the electoral voice of Bohemia.

Art. VIII. The two contracting parties mutually guaranty their states; the empress-queen all those of the king of Prussia without exception, and the king of Prussia all those the empress possesses in Germany.

Art.

Art. IX. His majesty the king of Great Britain, besides his particular guaranty of this treaty in all its extent, will labour with the contracting parties to get it guarantied by the United Provinces and the whole empire, and to get comprehended, included, and guarantied in the future general treaty of peace, and by all the powers who will take a part in it, all the states and countries of the king of Prussia, and in particular the treaty of Breslaw and the present treaty, as well as the states and countries of her majesty the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia.

Art. X. His majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, must be comprehended in this treaty, on the footing of the convention of Hanover, of the 26 August of the present year.

Art. XI. The king of Great Britain, as elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg, shall be comprehended in this peace, as well as the house of Hesse Cassel, with all their countries and states in Germany.

Art. XII. His highness the Elector Palatine is specifically and specially included and comprehended in this treaty of peace, with all his countries and states: he shall be re-established in all his countries and hereditary states, &c. as soon as his said electoral highness shall have made, with respect to his majesty the emperor, and the active voice of Bohemia, the same declarations his majesty the king of Prussia, elector of Brandenburg, is pleased to make on that subject in the present treaty.

Art. XIII. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in the term of ten days from the date of the signature, &c.

Extract of the Convention of Hanover, of the 26 August, 1745, between the King of Great Britain and the King of Prussia.

This convention was destined to serve as a basis for the treaty of Dresden. The following is the substance of the articles contained in it.

I. That

I. That the convention shall remain secret, until the conclusion of the treaty of peace.

II. The king of Prussia shall retain Silesia as ceded by the treaty of Breslaw.

III. The king of England shall guaranty Silesia to the king of Prussia, and promises to have it guaranteed by the States General, which guarantees shall cause it to be comprehended in the future general peace, and guaranteed by the empire.

IV. The king of Poland shall give the king of Prussia an act of cession of his pretensions on Silesia.

V. The king of Prussia engages to give his electoral voice to the duke of Tuscany for the Imperial dignity, after the signature of peace.

VI. The queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia shall mutually guaranty their states.

VII. Negotiations shall be entered into for an exchange between some portions of land in Silesia, lying within Lusatia, and the toll of Fürstenberg, which shall revert to the king of Prussia.

VIII. All the prisoners shall be released without ransom.

IX. The town of Cosel shall be delivered into the hands of the king of Prussia, with its fortifications, ammunition, and cannon.

X. The empress-queen and the king of Prussia shall not fetter the commerce between their respective subjects.

XI. The king of Great Britain, as elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg, and the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, shall be included in this peace; and all reciprocal pretensions between the king of Poland and the king of Prussia shall be annulled. The Electoral Palatine house shall be also included in this peace, as well as that of Hesse Cassel.

XII. His Britannic majesty, immediately after the signature of the convention, shall secretly expedite couriers to Vienna,

to

to urge that court to cease hostilities as well in Bohemia as in Silesia and Saxony.

XIII. The present convention shall be ratified, &c.

(54) This treaty, concluded at Petersburg, acquired a greater degree of importance, as it served for a pretext for the rupture of the king of Prussia which began the war of seven years. It contains in substance,

2. If one of the contracting parties is attacked by any power whatsoever, the other party shall send succours at the requisition of the party attacked.

3. If one of the contracting parties shall be attacked, the other shall furnish, in the space of three months, a succour of 30,000 men.

15. The contracting parties have concerted conjointly to invite to an accession to the present alliance, not only the king and the republic of Poland, but likewise other states, and particularly the king of Great Britain, in quality of elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg, in case they shall think proper to accept it.

16. Should the republic not be willing to accede to this alliance, the king of Poland shall be invited nevertheless in quality of elector of Saxony.

Secret Article of the Union of Petersburg.

Her majesty, the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, declares, that she will religiously and faithfully observe the treaty of peace concluded between her and his majesty the king of Prussia at Dresden, 25 December, 1745; and that she will not be the first to depart from the renunciation she has made of her rights to the ceded part of the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz.

But if, contrary to all expectation, and the common wishes, the king of Prussia should be the first to depart from this peace, either by hostilely attacking her majesty the empress-

queen, the empress of Russia, or the republic of Poland, in any of which cases, the rights of her majesty the empress-queen on the ceded part of Silesia and the county of Glatz, and consequently all the guaranties renewed in the second and third articles, on the part of the empress of Russia, would have fresh force, and resume their full effect, the two contracting parties are expressly agreed, that, in the said event, but not before, the said guaranty shall be fulfilled completely and without loss of time; and they solemnly promise, that, to avert the common danger of such an hostile aggression, they will unite their counsels, enjoin the same reciprocal confidence to their respective ministers at foreign courts, and communicate with confidence to each other what they may respectively learn of the designs of the enemy; and the empress-queen shall hold in readiness in the adjacent counties of Hungary a body of 20,000 infantry, and 10,000 cavalry, and that the empress of Russia shall hold a similar force ready in Livonia, Esthonia, and other neighbouring provinces, so that, in case of an hostile attack on the part of Prussia against one or other of the parties, these 30,000 men shall be able to march, and actually shall march, to the aid of the party attacked, in two, or, at the latest, in three months, from the date of the requisition made.

But, as it is easy to foresee that 60,000 men will not suffice to divert such an attack, to recover the provinces ceded by the treaty of Dresden, and to secure, at the same time, the general tranquillity in future, the two contracting parties have besides engaged themselves to employ, for that effect, supposing the case to exist, not only 30,000 men, but double that number, namely, 60,000 men, on each side, and to assemble this force with as much celerity as the remoteness of the least distant provinces will permit. The troops of the empress of Russia shall be employed by sea and by land, as may be deemed most proper, but the troops of the empress-queen shall be employed only on land. Each party shall begin

begin by making from the side of its own states a diversion in those of the king of Prussia ; after which, a junction shall be attempted, in order jointly to pursue their operations. But, previous to this junction, there shall be a general of one side and the other in the two respective armies, as well to concert operations, as to be an ocular witness of them, and to communicate, through this channel, the advices necessary to be given.

The empress of Russia, in promising so powerful a succour to the empress-queen, has no designs of making conquests on this occasion ; but, as she is pleased to suffer her corps of 60,000 men to act as well by sea as land, and as the equipment of a fleet would occasion considerable expences, so that, in thus dividing the forces of the enemy, the Russian corps might be considered as far exceeding the number of 60,000 men, the empress-queen engages and promises, that, in order more efficaciously to testify her gratitude, she will pay to the empress of Russia the sum of two millions of florins of the Rhine, in one year, dating from the day in which she shall have Silesia in her power, without curtailing any thing from it, under the plea of what shall have been drawn from the enemy's country.

This fourth secret and separate article shall have the same force as if inserted, word for word, in the body of the said treaty, &c.

(55) This German work is intituled : *Politische Historie der Staatsfehler*, &c. that is, *A political History of the Faults committed by the Powers of Europe, with respect to the Houses of Bourbon and Brandenburg*, &c. It is attributed to Moser, one of the most celebrated civilians in Germany.

(56) These guaranties are ascertained in the XXth article of the preliminaries, and the XXIIId of the treaty of peace, in these terms :

Art. XX. of the Preliminaries of the Peace of Aix la Chapelle.

“ The duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz, such as
“ they are possessed at this day by his Prussian majesty, are
“ guarantied to that prince by all the contracting powers and
“ parties in the present preliminaries.”

Art. XXII. of the Treaty of Peace of Aix la Chapelle.

“ The duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz, such as
“ they are now possessed by his Prussian majesty, are gua-
“ rantied to that prince by all the powerful contracting
“ parties to the present treaty.”

(57) *Letter to the King of Great Britain, touching the Troubles
which have arisen in the North.*

“ 18 March, 1749.

“ My good brother,

“ We are both of us interested alike in what concerns the
“ tranquillity of the North. A general rumour is spread
“ throughout Europe, that this tranquillity is in danger of
“ being disturbed. As for myself, I can discover no appear-
“ ance of it, and it seems to me as if no circumstance, except
“ a mutual distrust and an ill-founded suspicion, can have
“ given any probability to this report.

“ But, as the slightest reproaches when accumulated lead
“ to consequences, as nothing should be neglected for the
“ maintenance of peace, and as every thing appears im-
“ portant to those who watch over its preservation, I address
“ myself to your majesty, whose sentiments, I am sure, on
“ this head, are the same with my own, that our common ef-
“ forts may contribute thereto with the greater efficacy.

“ The suspicions which the neighbours of Sweden have
“ conceived of that court apply solely to two matters of com-
“ plaint. The first, which is visibly ill-founded, regards the
“ dangerous projects they wish to attribute to that court
“ against its neighbours. Your majesty is too judicious not
“ to discover the falsity of this at the very first glance. The

“ second

“second refers to the change actually taking place in the
 “form of government of Sweden, the cause of which is im-
 “puted to the prince, successor to the crown. The decla-
 “ration lately made by that prince and the senate to the court
 “of Russia on this subject, is, in my opinion, so clear, so
 “formal, and so prudent, as to leave those powers nothing
 “to wish for who interest themselves in the preservation of
 “the present regency.

“I have shewn count Kaiferling, the Russian ambassador
 “at my court, the original of the defensive alliance I have
 “made with Sweden, to which France has acceded, and of
 “which I immediately transmitted a copy to your majesty’s
 “ministry at London. This treaty tends to no innovation;
 “yet it obliges France and me to maintain the succession
 “which has been already really established in Sweden, and
 “jointly to oppose all those who may attack us.

“But Heaven forbid that I should impute such evil in-
 “tentions, and such pernicious designs, to friendly powers.
 “Nevertheless, I beg your majesty to unite your efforts with
 “mine in order to bring the two parties to explanations,
 “which may be equally salutary to us both. Let your ma-
 “jesty deign to pay attention to the articles alledged, and to
 “employ your credit and good offices to smother this fire,
 “still concealed under the ashes, which, if it once burst out,
 “may set all Europe in a blaze.

“Ready and disposed to embrace every proposition, I offer
 “with pleasure to enter into all the measures your majesty
 “shall deem adapted to the maintenance of peace, and I pro-
 “test that his most Christian majesty, who is as zealous as I
 “am for the preservation of peace in Europe and the tran-
 “quillity of the North, will join his efforts to ours, to concur
 “more efficaciously in this object.

“The opportunity that now presents itself to your ma-
 “jesty is one of the most favourable for augmenting the
 “glory of your government, for maintaining the happiness of

“ your dominions, and for reiterating, by authentic proofs,
 “ the sincerity of the pains you take to prolong the public re-
 “ pose in Europe.

“ I am, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem, and the
 “ most sincere friendship,

“ My good brother,

“ Your majesty’s faithful brother,

“ FREDERICK.”

(58) The court of Prussia complains of it in a memorial published at the commencement of the ensuing war, to justify its conduct towards Saxony, and thus treats the subject :

“ The Austrian and Saxon ministers have laboured in
 “ concert and under-hand to prepare means of calling into
 “ existence the case of the secret alliance of Petersburgh. In
 “ this treaty it was established as a principle, that every war
 “ between the king and Russia should authorize the empress-
 “ queen to recover Silesia. It was only necessary then to
 “ excite such a war. To attain this end, no method was
 “ thought more proper than irreconcilably to embroil the
 “ king with her majesty the empress of Russia, and to ir-
 “ ritate that princess by an infinity of false insinuations, and
 “ by the most atrocious calumnies and impostures, by attri-
 “ buting to the king all sorts of designs, at one moment,
 “ against Russia and the person of the empress herself, and,
 “ at another, against Poland, and with respect to Swe-
 “ den

“ It appears by the dispatches of count Vicedom, the
 “ Saxon minister at Petersburgh, dated the 18th April, 1747,
 “ that baron de Pretlak, the minister of Vienna, congratu-
 “ lates himself on having found means, by confidential com-
 “ munications from his court, on the subject of several sup-
 “ posed intrigues of the king of Prussia, disadvantageous to
 “ the empress, to inspire her with such sentiments as to push
 “ her enmity to the most supreme degree, and that the two
 “ ministers

“ ministers of Vienna and Saxony were concerting the means
 “ of effecting an accommodation between the empress-queen
 “ and France, that the former might be able to make head
 “ against the king of Prussia.

“ In a dispatch of the 6 July, 1747, count de Bernes lays
 “ before the empress-queen his reasoning with the Russian
 “ minister, count Kaizerling, to animate him to make his
 “ reports with more vivacity, and to exaggerate the military
 “ arrangements of the king of Prussia.

“ Monsieur Weingarten, secretary to the embassy of the
 “ court of Vienna at Berlin, informs count Uhlefeld, the
 “ 24 August, 1747, that, at the requisition of count Bernes,
 “ then resident at Petersburg, he had engaged the Russian
 “ minister at Berlin to write to his court, that the king of
 “ Prussia was making fresh preparations for war, which had
 “ no other tendency than to procure the sovereignty to the
 “ prince successor of Sweden.

“ The 12 December, 1749, count Bernes wrote from Pe-
 “ tersburgh to count Puebla at Berlin, that he should succeed
 “ in having it *insinuated* to Monsieur Gros, the Russian mi-
 “ nister, that measures were agitated in Sweden which aimed
 “ at the life and person of the empress of Russia, and in which
 “ the court of Prussia was deeply concerned ; and that when
 “ Monsieur Gros should impart what he had heard to him
 “ in confidence, he could confirm this discovery.”

(59) The letter here alluded to is that above-mentioned.
 It is as follows :

*Letter from Count Bernes to Count Puebla, dated Petersburg,
 12 December, 1749.*

“ I presume, under the injunction of the greatest secrecy,
 “ to propose to you the following request.

“ It is wished that you would get it whispered in the ear of
 “ Mr. Gros, the Russian minister, but this with so much

“ precaution that it can never be suspected to come from
 “ you, that a plot is contriving in Sweden against the person
 “ of the empress, in which the court of Prussia has a great
 “ share; and, as the said minister will not fail probably to
 “ communicate to you this discovery, you are requested to
 “ answer him, that knowing nothing of it, you would make
 “ enquiries; and afterwards to confirm it to him as a cir-
 “ cumstance which you had learnt by those enquiries!”

(60) Frederick, who was fond of pleasantry, frequently diverted himself at the expence of the empress Elizabeth: some allusions to the *wife of the emperor Claudius*, having come to the ears of this princess, she conceived a personal hatred against Frederick, which influenced her conduct more than it could have been warped by political motives.

Frederick's pleasantries on this princess cost him very dear, and he felt too late that

“ The ill we speak of others never redounds to good.”

(61) This ambassador arrived at Berlin in July, and had an immediate audience. He left Berlin in August, and returned by Silesia and Poland.

OTHER ANECDOTES AND PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH PERIODS.

*Letter of Frederick II. to M. Dankelman, his Minister at
Mayence.*

“ Berlin, 11 March, 1741,

“ In spite of the moderation with which I have hitherto
 “ acted towards the court of Vienna, though I have done all
 “ in my power at different times to bring about a reconcili-
 “ ation,

“ation, and engage that court to acknowledge my incon-
“testable rights, the said court has behaved in a very diffe-
“rent manner respecting me. It forgets all the respect that
“sovereign powers owe mutually to each other, even in time
“of peace; and acts with so little prudence, and in so unbe-
“coming a way, both in its writings and conversations with
“ministers, that there is no example of rage and animosity
“being carried to so great a height. As I am accustomed,
“however, to the haughtiness of the court of Vienna, and
“to the indiscretion which directs its conduct towards other
“courts, even in time of peace, I have hitherto despised this
“conduct, unheard of among wise nations, which, amidst the
“most violent contentions, invariably preserve a certain de-
“cency. But the court of Vienna, pushing matters to hor-
“rible extremities, and forgetting rights respected by the most
“savage people, has sent emissaries, spies, and assassins into
“my camp, to discover all my designs, to betray me, to de-
“liver me up to parties of the enemy, nay even to attempt my
“life. What renders all these plots still more atrocious, is
“the confession of an assassin, who declares he was obliged to
“take an oath in the presence of the duke of Lorraine, in
“the council of war of the court. I had myself great dif-
“ficulty in believing it. I own I am concerned at it, on ac-
“count of the friendship I bear the duke of Lorraine; I
“should never have thought him capable of participating in
“actions which ought to cover the court of Vienna with
“shame in the eyes of the whole universe. Nevertheless, I
“see myself compelled to disclose actions so ill befitting the
“glory of the house of Austria, and the author of so culpable
“a project. And, as the fact is but too true and too well
“proved, I think proper to inform you of it, that you may
“communicate it to the court at which you now reside.”

This letter, which is printed in several German collections,
appears really inconceivable. Is it possible, that the sage

Frederick

Frederick should have considered a circumstance as proved by the bare confession of a wretch, who may have wished to interest sovereign powers in his crime, with the chimerical hopes of retarding possibly the moment of his punishment, or of acquiring a celebrity, which not unfrequently forms the object of the last wishes of this sort of villains. But, supposing a prince capable of such machinations, is it probable that he would take for accomplices a whole council of war? And can we figure to ourselves that this council of war would tender an oath of such a nature as is here supposed to a villain? When princes are at war, do they not always mutually send spies? Have they not spies also even in time of peace? Had Frederick none in the camp of his enemies? Is it surprising, that, amongst these miscreants with vulgar souls, one should be found who thought to make his fortune by an attempt of this nature?

Letter of Frederick II. to his Envoy at Ratisbon, 11 March, 1741.

“ Having learnt that the court of Vienna, confounded by
 “ the justice of my cause, and having no farther hopes of en-
 “ gaging other powers in her quarrels, has recourse to the
 “ grossest falsehoods; that she labours to stir up against me all
 “ my neighbours, and strives to blacken my conduct in the
 “ empire and abroad; wishing to make all the world believe,
 “ that, not content with giving weight to my just pretensions
 “ to Silesia, I am disposed to put in a claim to several other
 “ sovereignties and states of the empire; asserting, amongst
 “ other things, that I have made a claim on the elector of
 “ Cologne respecting the bishopric of Hildesheim, and that
 “ I have required from the bishop of Bamberg and Würz-
 “ bourg a certain part of his states, menacing, in case of re-
 “ fusal, to take possession by force of arms:

“ I, therefore, deem it necessary for my interests to in-
 “ form you, that all the rumours circulated on this subject

“ are

“are absolutely false, and that I have never in any way so much as thought of the attempts on which they are grounded.

“I desire nothing so much as to be able to preserve peace and a good understanding with my neighbours, and particularly with those of the empire; and I am so far from forming unjust and chimerical pretensions on other states, that I would not even spare those who should think of making a merit with me, by discovering to me claims I should not have thought of. As a proof of this, I but very lately seized upon a publication, and ordered criminal proceedings against the author, for attempting to prove the rights of my house to all Lusatia*.

“You will not fail to make use of all this at the court at which you are, to prevent the malignant insinuations which my enemies try to point against me with the intention of causing as many troubles as they can, at the expence of truth and every thing that is sacred.”

Extract of one of the King's Rescripts addressed to his Envoy at the Hague, in May, 1742.

“I do not know where lord Stair has learnt that the courts of Versailles and Dresden are dissatisfied with me. Never was a good understanding so well established. The

* This stroke is perfectly characteristic of Frederick II.—To prove the rights of the house of Brandenburg to Lusatia ought surely to have been no crime at Berlin. If Frederick had reasons for suppressing the work, he should at least have esteemed the author for his good intention: but, it was expedient to impose on Europe; it was necessary to destroy all the disadvantageous ideas, all the apprehensions which the sudden invasion of Silesia might inspire; it was necessary to prevent all the powers from regarding him as a common enemy, and leaguering themselves for his destruction. When affairs of this nature were in question, Frederick neglected not the minutest circumstance to attain his end.

“operations

“operations of this campaign have been concerted between
 “us with one common accord. If lord Stair founds any
 “part of his negociations on this pretended misunderstand-
 “ing, he runs a great risk of deceiving himself.”

The following anecdote is contained in a letter of Pohrlitz,
 of the 12th March, 1742.

“Colonel Fouquet, having entered Cremnitz with six
 “companies of grenadiers, placed a centinel on the walls
 “near the house of a curate. The poor priest, incom-
 “moded by the frequent “*Who goes there*” of the centry,
 “resolved to disgust the soldiers with this post. He dis-
 “guised himself like a devil; put on a black mask, horns,
 “claws, a serpent’s tail, the feet of a cow, &c. and ad-
 “vanced towards the centry, scratching against the wall
 “with a fork which he carried in his hand. The grenadier,
 “although surpris’d at this apparition, did not quit his post.
 “He remained quiet, with his eyes fixed on the pretended
 “devil, to observe his motions. The latter, thinking he had
 “succeeded in his design, advanced close to the grenadier,
 “and presented his fork, crying with a hoarse voice, “*Thou*
 “*die’st by my hand.*” The soldier, now, surmounting all fear,
 “cocked his piece, and was preparing to fire on the pre-
 “tended demon; but the devil, hearing the fatal instrument
 “snap, ran off with the utmost precipitation. The grena-
 “dier, thoroughly emboldened by this retreat, follows the
 “spectre, and sees it enter the house of the curate. He in-
 “stantly calls his comrades, and tells them the story. The
 “curate’s door is forced, and himself surpris’d with his in-
 “fernal habiliments, of which he had not enjoyed sufficient
 “time to divest himself. They lay hold of him, and lead
 “him to the first guard-house, and the next day he was con-
 “ducted to the main guard in his devil’s dress, in sight of the
 “whole town. The clergy remonstrated vehemently against
 “this procedure; but the general, at length, convinced
 “them

“them that this curate had acted in a manner unworthy of his profession. In short, the poor priest was condemned to be shut up for some time in a convent, and the clergy were obliged to pay a fine of 90 ducats. This money was distributed to the soldiers to purchase spatterdashes; and they jestingly observed, that the devil took care to find them in shoes and stockings.”

In the campaign of 1744, Trenk * assures us, in the history of his life, that Frederick took up arms with regret. The following are a few particulars recounted by this extraordinary man, who was then aide-de-camp to the king, and possessed his confidence.

“When it was in agitation to retreat from Bohemia, the king was at the head-quarters at Colin, attended by the second and third battalion of guards. We had only four field-pieces with us; our squadron was in the suburb. Towards the evening, our advanced posts were repulsed into the town, the hussars entering one after another. All the environs swarmed with light troops of the enemy, and my commandant sent me to the king to demand his orders.

“After seeking him a long time, I found him on the church steeple, with a spying-glass in his hand. Never had I seen him so uneasy and so irresolute as upon that day. The order was to retreat, traverse the town, and to remain ready in the opposite suburb, with our horses saddled and bridled.

* The baron de Trenk, once a particular favourite of Frederick II. has just published his Life in German, which presents a series of adventures, the one more extraordinary than the other. This history would pass for a romance, if the greatest part of the facts contained in it were not attested by several persons still living. There are few memoirs more interesting and more curious. The Translator of the present work has just translated it into English; and certainly never did work more deserve to excite the public curiosity and interest.

TRANSLATOR.

“Scarcely

*It is a man
of loud jargon,
many errors,
not a few lies,
full of loud-*

*-sounding vanity,
vanity: a Book worth
nearly nothing.*

“ Scarcely had we entered it before there was a fall of rain
 “ and a profound darkness. Towards 9 o’clock in the even-
 “ ing Trenk * appeared with his Pandours. He kept ad-
 “ vancing with the music of the janissaries, and set fire to
 “ some houses, by which light they perceived us, and began
 “ firing from the windows ; the confusion was general.
 “ The town was so full that we could not enter it. The
 “ gates were shut, and our small field-pieces fired from that
 “ side. Trenk had opened out the water of the *fosses*, and
 “ at midnight our horses were up to the belly in water,
 “ and ourselves without defence.

“ It is certain that the king and all of us must have be-
 “ come prisoners of war, had Trenk pursued his first plan
 “ and besieged the town. But, his foot having been shat-
 “ tered by a cannon shot, it became necessary to carry him
 “ from the scene of action, and the firing of the Pandours
 “ ceased. The next day, Nassau’s corps came to our assist-
 “ ance. We quitted Colin. During our march, the king
 “ said to me, “ *Your rogue of a cousin might have played us a*
 “ *fine trick last night ; but the deserters say that he was killed.*”

“ At the battle of Soor, the king had sent so many de-
 “ tachments into Saxony, and into various parts of Bohe-
 “ mia and Silesia, that he had not above 26,000 men left.
 “ Prince Charles, who, in spite of all his experience, only
 “ judged of an enemy by their numbers, had surrounded the
 “ Pomeranian and Brandenburg regiments with an army
 “ of 86,000 men, with the design of surprising our little
 “ army, and of making us all prisoners.

“ Now, we shall see by my faithful narrative how well
 “ the project of this surprise was kept a secret. Towards
 “ midnight, the king came into my tent, and awakened, in
 “ the same manner, all the officers. At the same time, he

* An Austrian officer of Pandours, the author’s cousin-german.

“ ordered

batal lie of
Trenk's

you watched

scoundrel,

you were then

prisoner in Glatz! —

“ordered us to saddle our horses without any noise; to leave
“all the baggage, and to get into line of battle in the
“twinkling of an eye. The horses, however, remained in
“their places, and the men in their tents, all ready to jump
“upon their saddles.

“Lieutenant Pannewitz and I accompanied the king on
“horseback. He himself carried his orders to the whole
“army, and day-break was looked for with impatience.

“Towards the defile by which the king knew before-hand
“that the enemy was to make the attack, eight field-pieces
“were placed in the greatest silence behind a little eminence.
“It is clear, therefore, that the king was apprised of the
“whole plan of the enemy. Even advanced posts, situated
“towards the mountain, were withdrawn, in order to confirm
“the enemy in the hopes of surprising us asleep, and without
“arms.

“At the dawn of day, the fire of the artillery thundered
“all round our camp, from all the heights occupied by the
“enemy, and their cavalry advanced by the defile.

“At this moment we appeared in order of battle; and,
“in less than ten minutes, poured full gallop on the enemy,
“who were unsuspectingly beginning to form in front of the
“defile, and were the more surprised, as it was they who
“conceived that they should surprise us*, nor meet even
“with the least resistance. We repulsed them into the de-
“file, and immediately the king ordered the eight field-pieces
“to begin playing, which occasioned a dreadful carnage
“amidst a troop so numerous and so pressed together. In
“half an hour, the plan of the enemy was destroyed, and the
“battle gained.

“Nadaſti, Trenk, and the light troops, who were to attack
“us in the rear, amused themselves in plundering the camp.

* It appears by Trenk's relation, that the Prussians were not sur-
prised, as writers have generally asserted. We shall probably see, in
the history of the king's wars, written by himself, what we are to think
of these different accounts.

“ On no occasion whatsoever is it possible to abate the thirst
 “ of pillage peculiar to the Croats, and during the time when
 “ they were engaged in the commission of depredations, our
 “ attention was wholly taken up in successful efforts to over-
 “ come the enemy. The king was informed that the ene-
 “ my had entered the camp, and was plundering it. “ So
 “ *much the better,*” said he; “ *they will let us do our business.*”
 “ Trenk took the king’s tent, and his service of plate.

“ In 1746 a criminal process was instituted against Trenk
 “ at Vienna, wherein he was accused of having taken the
 “ king in his bed, and suffered him to escape for a sum of
 “ money. His enemies went still further: they hired a com-
 “ mon prostitute, of Brünn, who called herself the daughter
 “ of marshal Schwérin, and who assured the council of war
 “ that she was sleeping with the king when Trenk entered
 “ her tent; that he took them both, and afterwards gave
 “ them their liberty. Trenk was condemned to imprison-
 “ ment in a fortress, where he died in 1749.”

Count Brühl had demolished some of the fortifications of
 Dresden to enlarge his gardens. When the Prussians pre-
 sented themselves before the gates of Dresden, the com-
 mandant immediately surrendered, saying, “ *that he could not*
 “ *defend himself in a garden.*”

The king, being at Glatz, learnt that the countess de
 Grun, wife of a lieutenant-colonel of the garrison, had made
 a vow to present a fine robe to the Madona of the Jesuits,
 provided that the blockade of the town should become soon
 raised. He immediately ordered the finest stuff which it was
 possible to find to be purchased, and made into a robe of the
 size of the Virgin. This he sent to the Jesuits, telling them,
 that, having heard of the fruitless vow of the countess, and
 knowing whom he had to deal with, as well as she, he was
 unwilling that *Our Lady* should lose any advantage by the
 bargain,

bargain, and therefore he offered her in fact what Madame de Grun had promised in vain: The fathers, Jesuits, charmed with this present, waited on his majesty, in great ceremony, to thank him. During a length of time, and frequently, did they mention this circumstance, shewing the robe to strangers as a striking proof of the king's piety. It is even alledged, that they conceived some hopes of seeing a prince so devoted to the Virgin, at some future period, embrace the Catholic religion.

At Berlin they shew the drum which Ziska, a celebrated chief of the followers of Hufs, directed to be made of his skin after his death, for the purpose (if report speak truly) of still intimidating his enemies. The king had it removed to Berlin from Glatz, where it was before. In pursuance, also, of his orders, was conveyed from that town the coat of mail of Valasca, the ancient sovereign of the county of Glatz; a pagan princess celebrated in the history of that country for her pretended witchcraft.

When Frederick was at Breslaw, and beheld the magnificent college of the Jesuits in that city, built by the emperor Leopold, he exclaimed, "*What folly! Can we be astonished, after this, that Leopold so often wanted money to pay his troops?*"

In 1755, the Corsicans, tired with groaning under the yoke of the Genoese, resolved to chuse another sovereign, and their choice fell on Frederick, the fame of whose glory had reached their island. The king refused their proposition. He knew of how little advantage it was to possess dispersed states, and had affairs enough on his hands, and projects in his head, without exposing himself to fresh quarrels. He replied to the confidence of the Corsicans, by advising the republick of Genoa of this proceeding. The republick, touched with

this conduct, addressed a letter of thanks to him, in which not only his friendship was solicited, but the permission to have recourse to him in case of need.

The Corsicans were as much surprised as hurt at the king's not answering their proposition. Paoli, chief of the malecontents, assembled the heads of the island, and made a speech to them, in which, amongst other things, he said:

“As it is impossible for us to live any longer under the yoke of the Genoese government, we have given you to understand that we wished to put ourselves under the dominion of another power, which should take us under its protection, and govern us according to the laws of religion and of justice. We addressed ourselves to the wisest monarch who now reigns in Europe with so much glory. But, alas! the step we have taken has been useless, and we have no longer any hope from that quarter.”

*Fin du Tome Premier
(in Original)*

(62) The following is an extract of this treaty :

I. There shall be a sincere peace and friendship between the two kings, notwithstanding the troubles which may result from the differences which subsist in Europe: and, in consequence of the present treaty, none of the contracting parties shall attack the dominions of the other, either directly or indirectly; but, on the contrary, each of them shall exert his whole power to prevent their respective allies from undertaking any enterprize against the dominions of the said parties, in any manner whatsoever.

II. Were it so to happen that any foreign power should march troops into Germany under any pretext whatever, the contracting parties shall unite their forces to oppose the entrance and passage of the said troops, and endeavour in concert to preserve peace in Germany, according to the terms of the treaty.

III. The

III. The contracting powers expressly renew all the treaties, alliances, and guaranties which subsist between them; and, amongst others, the defensive alliance and guaranty concluded the 18th of November, 1742, at West-Munster, between the kings of England and Prussia, and the convention of Hanover, of the 26th of August, 1745, as well as the accession of his Britannic majesty to the treaty of guaranty of the 13th of October, 1746.

IV. This treaty shall be ratified by the two kings in the space of one month, &c.

Separate Article.

As the convention signed between the ministers of the two kings extends only to Germany, of course it is not to include the Austrian Low Countries and their dependencies; nor shall those countries be comprised in the present convention on any pretext whatsoever; and the rather, as in the article of the peace of Dresden the king of Prussia has only guarantied to the empress-queen the states which she possesses in Germany. The present separate article shall have the same force, as if inserted word for word in the convention signed upon this day, &c.

West-Munster, 16 January, 1756.

(63) On the occasion of this treaty, several differences which had subsisted for some years between the two courts were settled. The king still owed England arrears for the loans negotiated by the merchants on the mortgage of Silesia, which were liquidated; and England, on her side, indemnified some of the king of Prussia's subjects, from whom ships had been taken in the preceding war.

(64) *Letter from Count Fleming to Count Brühl.*

“Vienna, 28 July, 1756.

“Mr. Klingræff received an express from his court last Saturday, in consequence of which, he, next day, sent a

“ note to count Kaunitz, anxiously desiring an hour’s con-
“ versation. This note was delivered to the chancellor of
“ state at the very moment he was in conference with the
“ marshals counts Neuberg and Brown, and with general
“ prince Piccolomini; and, as he intended waiting on the
“ empress-queen immediately after the conference, to make
“ his report to her, he replied to Mr. Klingræff, that he was
“ under the indispensable necessity of going to Schœnbrunn,
“ but that he would oblige him much by coming immediately;
“ and with this request the Prussian minister did not fail to
“ comply. Count Kaunitz told me in confidence, in a con-
“ versation I had with him yesterday, that Mr. Klingræff,
“ on entering, at first informed him, with a certain air of
“ embarrassment mixed with anxiety, that he had just re-
“ ceived an express from his court, bringing him orders, the
“ contents of which he was to lay before the empress-queen
“ in person, for which purpose it was enjoined him to de-
“ mand a private audience of her majesty, which he intreated
“ that he would be so good as to procure him. That he,
“ count Kaunitz, had replied, that, being on the point of
“ setting out for Schœnbrunn, he willingly took upon him-
“ self to demand the audience he required; but that he could
“ not help giving him to understand, that it would be proper
“ to enable him, at least in general terms, to apprize the em-
“ press of the nature of the representations he had orders to
“ make to her majesty. That, on this, Mr. Klingræff said,
“ that he was charged to demand amicably, and in the way of
“ explication, in the name of the king his master, what were
“ the objects of the armaments and preparations making here,
“ and if, peradventure, they regarded him; which, however,
“ he could not imagine, being unconscious of having given
“ occasion to them in the smallest degree. That he, Kaunitz,
“ replied, that he could not for the present make any answer
“ to this question, that he would not fail immediately to re-
“ port it to the empress, and procure him the audience he

“ desired;

“desired; that he could not, however, help saying, that he
 “was surpris’d at the explication the king his master de-
 “manded respecting the measures taking in this country,
 “considering, that, on this side, no anxiety had been shewn,
 “nor umbrage taken, at the great movements and preparations
 “made by that prince in his army. The minister added to
 “me, that, setting out immediately for Schœnbrunn, he had
 “reflected, on the road, on the answer he should advise his
 “sovereign to give to Mr. Klingræff, and that, thinking he
 “discovered two objects which the king of Prussia had in
 “view, which it was here the wish equally to avoid, namely,
 “to enter into discussions and explanations which might, in
 “the first instance, occasion a suspension of measures deemed
 “necessary to be continued with vigour, and, in the second
 “place, lead still farther to other more essential propositions
 “and engagements, he had concluded, that the answer ought
 “to be of such a nature as wholly to elude the question of the
 “king of Prussia, and such as, leaving no room for further
 “explications, should be at once firm and polite, without
 “becoming open to either a sinister or a favourable interpre-
 “tation. That, in conformity with this idea, it seemed to
 “him sufficient for the empress simply to content herself
 “with answering, “That, in the kind of general crisis to
 “which Europe had now reached, it became her duty, and
 “the dignity of her crown, to take suitable measures for her
 “own security, as well as for that of her friends and
 “allies.”

“That the empress-queen had approved this answer, and,
 “to shew that this proceeding and demand of the king of
 “Prussia caused not the smallest embarrassment here, her ma-
 “jesty immediately fixed upon an hour, in the course of the
 “ensuing day, for Mr. Klingræff’s audience, when, after
 “listening to the proposition of that minister, as he had ex-
 “posed it to count Kaunitz the day before, she had precisely
 “answered in the above terms, and, by a nod of her head,

“ suddenly broke up the audience, without entering into any
“ further detail.

“ It is true, that all Vienna, who were that day present in
“ the antichamber, it being gala day, saw Mr. Klingraff
“ enter and come out the moment after with an air of alto-
“ nishment. I have all these circumstances from count Kau-
“ nitz’s own mouth, who opened himself more freely and
“ with more confidence to me than he has done hitherto,
“ even charging me to make use of it in my dispatches to
“ your excellency, reserving to himself nevertheless the most
“ exact secrecy on the subject.

“ There is little doubt but that this answer, which is as
“ energetic as obscure, will greatly embarrass the king of
“ Prussia; and it is pretended here, that this prince must be
“ in great anxiety, and that he has already drawn near three
“ millions of crowns from his treasury, to defray the expence
“ of his armaments and augmentations.

“ It is presumed, that his object in making the aforesaid
“ demand was probably to give him an opportunity of ex-
“ culpating himself, had the answer of this court been that he
“ was the occasion of the warlike preparations, by adducing
“ as a proof of his pacific intentions, that it was for this very
“ reason he had not even assembled the camps which he had
“ already traced out for the exercise of his soldiers, but had
“ ordered the regiments to separate, imagining, perhaps, by
“ these means, to lay this court under the necessity of follow-
“ ing his example, by also discontinuing their preparations.
“ I believe, however, that he will find it no easy matter to
“ effect his purpose by such deceptions.

“ We learnt, by an express from count Puebla, which ar-
“ rived here last Sunday, that, notwithstanding the feigned
“ dispositions of the king of Prussia, his troops still keep
“ filing off towards Silesia. It is perfectly well understood,
“ besides, that this prince, from the local position of his army,
“ which he can assemble in as many weeks as this court
“ would

" would require months, from the distant quarters of her
 " troops, has too marked an advantage over her, in conse-
 " quence of the vast expences occasioned by long and conti-
 " nual marches, which would become insupportable in the
 " end: it is perfectly well understood, I say, that it is abso-
 " lutely necessary uninterruptedly to pursue the measures al-
 " ready begun, that the court, under the present circumstances,
 " may become enabled to play an equal game, and to oblige
 " the king of Prussia, in order to support the armaments and
 " augmentations made, or about to be made, which surpass
 " his powers, either gradually to waste himself, or, for the
 " purpose of avoiding such an inconveniency, suffer himself
 " to be hurried into some precipitate resolution, at which
 " point, it seems to me, they are here lying in wait for
 " him.

" The return of Mr. Klingræff's courier, which that
 " prince is waiting for, doubtless, with the greatest impatience,
 " will let us see more clearly his dispositions. It is to be
 " presumed, that, if he thinks himself menaced, he will no
 " longer delay striking a blow, to anticipate those he is afraid
 " of, and to avail himself of the situation in which this court
 " will be until the end of August, the term fixed for the as-
 " sembling of all the troops. But, on the other hand, should
 " he remain quiet, he may rest persuaded that he will not be
 " disturbed or attacked, at least for this year. Yet, from my
 " general observations, I can entertain no doubt, that this
 " court must be very certain of the friendship of Russia; and
 " this appears to me still further corroborated by a letter from
 " Mr. Schwartz, the Dutch minister at Petersburg, of the 6th
 " of this month, to Mr. de Burmania, wherein, amongst other
 " things, he tells him, that the chevalier Douglas, the
 " French emissary, gains more and more ground every day.

" As this cannot fail of producing an alteration in the an-
 " cient system of Russia, it is not surprising that the grand
 " chancellor, count Bestuchef, as your excellency informs me

“ by your last dispatches, should have taken the resolution of
 “ retiring into the country, under the pretence of recovering
 “ his health, and of withdrawing, for some time, from business;
 “ wishing, apparently, to see what turn affairs are likely to
 “ take, and foreseeing, possibly, that the moment of decision is
 “ not remote, since every thing depends on the resolution of
 “ the king of Prussia; for it is certain, that, if he does not stir,
 “ the court of Vienna will undertake nothing, at least during
 “ the course of the present year, but will continue to com-
 “ plete, in this interval, her preparations, in order to be in
 “ readiness for the next year to take such a part as shall be
 “ adapted to circumstances and temporary incidents.

“ All this only confirms me the more in the opinion which
 “ I have ventured to give your excellency in my preceding
 “ letters, that our court has no surer means of profiting by
 “ the present conjuncture, which has never perhaps been so
 “ favourable under the reign of our august master, than by
 “ putting itself in a good posture, so as to make its alliance
 “ sought after. A friend of mine, who pretends to be well-
 “ informed by one of the clerks of the treasury, assures me
 “ that this court has sent a million of florins to Russia.

“ If your excellency has the opportunity safely to make
 “ suggestions to the court of London, you would perhaps
 “ render her a great service by pointing out the danger in
 “ which she now is, and into which she has been drawn by
 “ the evil counsels of those who are at present the most in
 “ favour.

“ That court will extricate herself with difficulty from
 “ the dilemma into which she has precipitated herself; and,
 “ if she does not separate herself from the king of Prussia, by
 “ making peace with France on the best terms she can, the
 “ latter will proceed from success to success, and from project
 “ to project, which may, in the end, prove fatal to the house
 “ of Hanover.

“ I most particularly request your excellency to commu-
 “ nicate

“nicate none of the details of what I have had the honour to
 “write your excellency to Monsieur de Broglie ; that am-
 “bassador being in correspondence with M. d’Aubeterre,
 “who told me, with surprise, that the count de Broglie was
 “fully persuaded that the court of Vienna had hostile in-
 “tentions towards the king of Prussia, and even accused him
 “of a want of confidence, and too great a reserve respecting
 “her projects, &c.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.”

In the audience granted by the empress to Mr. Klingræff,
 the Prussian minister, he observed to her, “ That he was or-
 “dered, on the part and in the name of the king his master,
 “to give her the strongest assurances of his desire invariably
 “to cultivate the good understanding which subsisted between
 “him and her Imperial majesty ; and, to remove every obstacle
 “which might tend to diminish it, he requested the empress
 “to be pleased to give him an explication respecting the
 “movements of her troops, and the other military prepa-
 “rations which had been reported to him. That he could
 “not bring himself to imagine they were directed against
 “him, being ignorant of having given any occasion for them,
 “and having it in his power to prove to her majesty, that he
 “had not augmented his troops in Silesia even by the ad-
 “dition of a single man, they being at this hour composed of
 “the same number as for several years past.”

The empress replied, “ That it being a delicate subject,
 “she could not sufficiently weigh her words ; for which
 “reason she thought proper to read her answer.”

Her majesty on this drew a paper from her pocket, from
 which she read what follows : “ In the present generally
 “critical situation of Europe, it is my duty, and it becomes
 “the dignity of my crown, to take suitable measures for my
 “security, as well as for that of my friends and allies, with-
 “out injuring any person.”

After

After reading this paper, the empress was silent, and signified to the envoy, by an inclination of her head, that she wished to terminate the audience.

The Prussian minister having given an account of this audience to the court of Berlin, he received fresh instructions, in consequence of which, on the 20th of August, he presented to the court of Vienna a memorial, declaring, in substance, " That the king of Prussia is informed, in such a way as to leave no doubt, that the court of Vienna, at the commencement of this year, concluded an offensive alliance with the court of Russia against him, by which it is stipulated that the two empresses shall fall suddenly on the said prince, that of Russia with 120,000 men, and the empress-queen with 80,000 combatants.

" That, as his Prussian majesty was informed from every quarter, that the empress queen is collecting her chief forces in Moravia and Bohemia, that these troops are encamped at a small distance from the frontiers of the king, that considerable magazines of provisions and warlike stores were forming, that strings of hussars and Croats were stretched along his frontiers, as if he were at open war with her Imperial majesty, he thought himself justified in demanding a formal and categorical declaration, consisting of an assurance, " That her majesty the empress queen has no intention of attacking his Prussian majesty either this or the ensuing year," &c.

The court of Vienna answered to this memorial, the next day, " That the king of Prussia had been for some time past employed in making preparations of the most alarming nature against the public tranquillity, at the very time that he thought proper to demand explications from the court of Vienna respecting military dispositions which were only the result of those made already by the king.

" That her Imperial majesty might have dispensed with answering ; but, on the contrary, she would declare,

" That

"That her Imperial majesty has the undoubted right of forming what judgment she thinks proper relative to the circumstances of the times, and that it belongs to her alone to appreciate her danger.

"That the information given to his Prussian majesty of an offensive alliance against him, between the empress-queen and the empress of Russia, is absolutely false and of mere invention, and that such a treaty against his Prussian majesty does not exist, nor ever has existed," &c.

In consequence of this reply, Mr. Klingræff presented a second memorial on the 2d of September, wherein the king persists in demanding the following assurance from the empress-queen, "That her Imperial majesty has no intention of attacking his majesty the king of Prussia either this or the following year."

The court of Vienna replied on the 6th, by the following memorial :

"Mr. Klingræff had hardly presented his last memorial, when the news of the invasion of Saxony reached her majesty the empress-queen, with the manifesto published against her on that occasion.

"After so manifest an aggression, there can no longer be a question of any other answer than what her majesty shall think proper to make at a proper time to the said manifesto ; the last which was delivered to Mr. Klingræff conveying every thing she thought it compatible with her dignity to declare, and the proposition of converting into a truce the peace already subsisting, and founded on solemn treaties, being naturally susceptible of no other declaration."

(65) Weingarten, secretary of legation from the court of Vienna at Berlin, having been bribed by the Prussian ministry, to whom he gave copies of all the dispatches he received, had the prudence to make his escape, justly concluding that

that one way or other he should fall a victim to his treachery. The court of Vienna demanded that he should be given up; the king pretended to have search made after him, but he was not to be found.

(66) The rescript of the court of Vienna conveys, in substance, That her Imperial majesty, learning from all quarters the movements and preparations of the king of Prussia, tending to disturb the peace and tranquillity of Germany, could not, for her own security, and that of her states and subjects, avoid assembling troops in Bohemia and Moravia: that what appeared the most essential to her, was the insinuation conveyed to all the Protestant courts, that the alliance lately formed between her Imperial majesty and France contained certain articles which had a tendency wholly to oppress the Protestant religion in Germany, and to make the Imperial crown devolve on the head of her eldest son; rumours, which the empress orders her envoys most positively to confute at the different courts.

(67) The court of Prussia alledged the following reasons for this attack :

1. That, shortly after the conclusion of the peace of Dresden, it had been decided by the fourth secret article of the treaty of Petersburgh, that all wars which might arise between Prussia and Russia, Poland, or the empress queen, should render the cession of Silesia and the county of Glatz null and void.
2. That the courts of Vienna, Dresden, and Petersburgh, had, since that period, carried on continual negotiations on the subject of the treaty signed at Leipfic in 1745.
3. That, from every appearance, the empress of Russia and the empress-queen would have made a joint attack on the king's dominions in the summer of 1756.
4. That the refusal of the court of Vienna to give a po-

sitive

defensive answer to the explanation required on the subject of her preparations, had compelled the king to anticipate the dangerous designs conceived against him, and to disperse the storm that threatened him.

The court of Vienna, on the contrary, maintained,

1. That the king of Prussia had *begun* the warlike preparations.
2. That he had frequently acted contrary to the articles of the peace of Dresden.
3. That there was no project of a defensive alliance between the courts of Dresden and Peterburgh.

The king's conduct on this occasion, say the German civilians, was founded on *the right of prevention*. This conduct greatly resembles that of Philip, landgrave of Hesse, in 1529, in the affair of Pack, under the reign of Charles V. and likewise that observed by the same prince in 1542, against Henry the Young, duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbittel. In this last affair, the landgrave took possession of Wolfenbittel, as Frederick now made himself master of Saxony, and found in the archives of that place, as Frederick did in those of Dresden, original documents proving what he had advanced.

(68) When the archives were forced, the court of Prussia announced a memorial, and prepared the minds of the public, by reporting every where that it was extremely interesting, and would lay open mysteries which no person whatsoever suspected. This famous manifesto at length appeared, under the title of, *A Memorial respecting the Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony, and their dangerous Designs against his Majesty the King of Prussia, with the original and justificatory Papers*. This production did not correspond with the idea formed of it. The courts of Saxony and Vienna are there on slender foundations charged with *plots and treachery*. Nothing more can be adduced in support of these imputations from

from the papers in question, except that the three neighbouring powers to the king of Prussia were persuaded, that, encouraged by his successes, he would not be long in attempting fresh enterprizes. That two of them had formed a connection to ward off such a blow, to which they invited the third power to accede, but that the latter was too timid to take any part in these defensive measures. That, in the interim, they all kept watching the king's motions, and confidentially communicated to each other their mutual discoveries, to avoid a surprise. And did not the king of Prussia's subsequent conduct justify the apprehensions of these powers? In the treaty of Petersburg it is only said, that, "*in case the king of Prussia should be the first to violate the peace of Dresden, and become the aggressor, then,*" &c. &c. This was nothing more than a defensive alliance*. Besides, it is certain, that the elector of Saxony, whose states were suddenly invaded, had not yet acceded to this alliance; supposing, therefore, that this alliance comprized *a plot and treachery*, as is asserted in the memorial, the court of Saxony had not participated in the crime.

As to the eventual partition of the king's dominions, it may be likewise answered, that it was still in the case of an attack from him; a case in which this partition would have been just; for it is allowed to auxiliary parties to stipulate the portions of their conquests. This stipulation on the part of the court of Vienna could have no relation whatever to the treaty of Dresden, but solely to a war wherein the king of Prussia should be the aggressor.

But, no circumstance can enable us better to form a judgment respecting the commencement and motives of this war, than what the *author of this Memorial*, the count de Hertzberg, himself, remarks, in his *Historical Memoir on the last Year of the Life of Frederick II.* "*He,*" (the king)

* See p. 353.

observes this learned minister, "*thought he knew*, that the
 "courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Saxony, had formed a
 "political system against Prussia. By accident, and the
 "treachery of a Saxon secretary, he discovered, in 1753, that
 "these three courts had concluded, in 1746, immediately
 "after the peace of Dresden, a treaty of alliance and even-
 "tual partition of his dominions, in case of a war. From
 "these discoveries, and these Saxon dispatches, of which he
 "had copies every day by the post, from 1753 to 1755, he
 "concluded, that the ministers of these three powers were
 "unremittedly labouring to bring about this war. *He thought*,
 "in the month of June, by secret and *probable* advices, that
 "the moment was arrived when these three courts would ex-
 "ecute the project concerted against him, and attack him in
 "the beginning of 1757. He thrice demanded explanations
 "on the subject from the empress-queen; and receiving only
 "unsatisfactory and laconic answers, he thought it most ad-
 "visable to anticipate the designs of the three courts, by
 "attacking those of Saxony and Austria before the armies
 "were in readiness. On the 20th of August he sent for
 "me privately to *Sans-Souci*, and put into my hands some
 "dispatches of the court of Saxony, of which I made an
 "abstract, which was communicated to all the foreign courts,
 "to prove to them the designs of the courts of Vienna and
 "Dresden against Prussia, which the king deemed it his duty
 "to anticipate. He then marched, at the end of August,
 "1756, into Saxony, took that country as a pledge, sur-
 "rounded the Saxon army near Pirna, made them prisoners,
 "and incorporated the soldiers amongst his own troops. He
 "next entered Bohemia, and gained the battle of Lowositz,
 "which, however, was not decisive enough to allow him to
 "remain in Bohemia, and he returned to take up his winter-
 "quarters in Saxony. At the same time he opened the
 "archives of Dresden, and sent to his ministry all the dis-
 "patches from which I composed the *famous Mémoire raisonné*,
 "in

“ in which are proved, from the original dispatches of the
 “ Austrian and Saxon ministers, the eventual projects of war
 “ and partition against Prussia. It is ascertained that these
 “ projects did exist ; *but as they were only eventual, and sup-*
 “ *posed the condition of the king of Prussia giving rise to a war,*
 “ *it will always remain a problem, whether these projects would*
 “ *ever have been carried into execution, and whether it would*
 “ *have been more dangerous to wait for than to anticipate them.*
 “ Be this as it may, the *curiosity of the king*, and the trivial
 “ circumstance of the treachery of a Saxon clerk, were the
 “ indisputable causes of that terrible war of seven years,
 “ which has immortalized Frederick II. and the Prussian
 “ nation, *but which likewise nearly overwhelmed this whole*
 “ *state, and brought it to the brink of ruin.*”

This judgment cannot appear suspicious in the mouth of
 such a man as count Hertzberg, who, during the life of Fre-
 derick II. never ceased to lavish on him, on every occasion,
 commendations which might sometimes be taken for adula-
 tion, were we ignorant of the patriotism and other noble mo-
 tives which inflame the mind of Mr. Hertzberg. It seems
 as if the love of truth had engaged him, after the king's death,
 to publish his sentiments on the commencement of that war.
 And, in fact, who could better enter upon the most unan-
 swerable discriminations concerning this affair, than he who
 had it in his power to examine all the original papers, and
 who himself composed the manifesto ? And what other mo-
 tive than the truth could have induced Mr. Hertzberg,
 under the new reign, to depreciate any action of the pre-
 ceding reign ?

(69) The administration of the Saxon states, and that of
 Brandenburg, under their late sovereigns, forms a striking
 contrast, the consequences of which merit observation. The
 revenues of Saxony form only the half of those of Branden-
 bourg; yet Frederick II. maintained a permanent army

of

of 150,000 men, whilst Augustus had barely 16,000. The former possessed a treasure of many millions, and carried on, as we see, the war of seven years without new taxes or foreign loans. In Saxony, under the reign of Augustus, the national debt amounted to 100 millions of crowns; and though an extraordinary tax was imposed on land, scarcely could she pay the tenth part of the interest. It is calculated that Brühl drained Saxony in ten years of 33 millions of crowns, which were not employed in paying debts. This minister lived like a sovereign, and expended annually half a million of crowns, a great part of which went out of the country for dresses and all sorts of objects of voluptuousness and luxury. Two hundred domestics were perpetually at his orders, and from 50 to 100 dishes were served at his table.

(70) *Letter from the King to Marshal Schwérin, after the Battle of Loboschitz.*

“ 2d of October, 1756.

“ I set out alone from my camp at Sedlitz on the 28th of September, and joined my army in Bohemia, consisting of 60 squadrons and 28 battalions, posted near Auffig in a camp which I did not think very advantageous for the troops. On making myself acquainted with every point, I took my resolution. I formed an advanced guard of eight battalions, ten squadrons of dragoons, and eight of buffars. I marched myself at the head of this corps to Tirmiz, and gave orders for the army to follow me in two columns, the one by Paschkopole, the other by the road I had taken with my advanced guard. I arrived there in the evening, an hour before sunset. I saw the Austrian army, with their right supported by Loboschitz, the left inclined towards the Egra. Their force of 60,000 men did not frighten me any more than their cannon.

“ In the evening, I myself, with six battalions, occupied a hollow, and the heights which command Loboschitz, and
Vol. I. C c “ which

“ which I resolved to make use of, to open out upon them
“ the next day. At night my army reached Welmina, where
“ I contented myself with forming my battalions in line
“ behind each other, and the squadrons in the same order.

“ At the first peep of day of the 1st of October, I took with
“ me the principal generals, and shewed them the ground of
“ the opening between the heights, which I wished to oc-
“ cupy with my whole army, to wit, the infantry in the first
“ line, occupying two lofty hills, and a bottom which is be-
“ tween them, six battalions in the second line, and the
“ whole cavalry in the third. I used all possible diligence in
“ getting my wings well supported on these heights, by ap-
“ plying flanks to them. The infantry of the right gained
“ their post, and I took every precaution to secure it well,
“ regarding it as my principal safeguard, and the chief secu-
“ rity of my army. My left, in forming, got instantly engaged
“ with the Pandours and grenadiers of the enemy, posted in
“ a vineyard inclosed by stone walls.

“ In this manner we advanced to the spot where the hills
“ open out upon the enemy, from whence we discovered the
“ town of Loboschitz, lined by a body of infantry, and a
“ large battery of twelve pieces of cannon in front, and
“ cavalry formed in a chequer and in line between Lo-
“ boschitz and the village of Sulowitz. The fog was thick;
“ all we could distinguish was a sort of van-guard of the
“ enemy, which needed only to be attacked to fall back
“ upon its rear. I consulted better eyes than my own to give
“ me an account of what was passing, and these saw every
“ thing as I did. I sent to reconnoitre them, and all the re-
“ ports I received were conformable with the judgment I
“ had formed.

“ After seeing, then, my twenty-four battalions placed in
“ this hollow as I thought proper, I conceived that there was
“ nothing now to be done but to repulse that cavalry which
“ was before me, taking all sorts of figures, as you may
“ tolerably

"tolerably well imagine from the indifferent plan I here-
"with send you. On this, I pushed out 30 squadrons of
"cavalry, who attacked that of the enemy. They pressed
"them with too much vigour, by getting into the fire of the
"enemy's cannon, which, after a vigorous resistance, obliged
"them to re-form under the protection of my infantry.
"Scarcely was this attack over, when my 60 squadrons,
"without waiting my orders, and contrary to my will, at-
"tacked a second time. A fire of 60 cannon on both their
"flanks did not prevent them from beating the Austrian ca-
"valry: but beyond all this fire they found a terrible ditch,
"which, however, they cleared; on the other side of which,
"and on their left flank, they fell in with Austrian infantry
"and cannon placed in another ditch, the fire of which was
"so dreadful as to force them to retire under our pro-
"tection.

"No troops pursued them, and I availed myself of this mo-
"ment to replace them on the hill, behind my infantry,
"where I ranged them as if it were a manœuvre.

"The cannonade, however, did not discontinue, and the
"enemy made every possible effort to turn the left of my in-
"fantry. I felt the necessity of supporting them, and sent
"there the two last of the four and twenty battalions I had
"remaining with me; but, to put the best countenance on
"a bad game, I ordered 24 battalions of the first line to
"make a circuit to the left. For want of better, I filled up
"my centre with my cuirassiers, and again formed a second
"line with the remainder of my cavalry, which were under
"the protection of my infantry. At the same time, the
"whole left of my infantry, marching by divisions, made a
"quarter wheel, took the town of Loboschitz in flank, in
"spite of the cannon and prodigious infantry of the enemy,
"carried that post, and obliged the whole army of the ene-
"my to fly.

"The prince of Bevern has so greatly distinguished him-

“ self, that I cannot sufficiently applaud his conduct. With
 “ 24 battalions we drove 72, and, if you will allow the ex-
 “ pression, 300 cannon. I shall say nothing to you of the
 “ troops; you know them; but, since I had the honour to
 “ command them, I never saw such prodigies of valour as
 “ were performed both by the cavalry and infantry. The
 “ infantry forced enclosed vineyards and stone houses, and
 “ sustained, from seven in the morning till three in the af-
 “ ternoon, a fire of cannon and of musketry, and, above all,
 “ the attack on Loboschitz, which lasted, without inter-
 “ mission, until the enemy were driven out of it. My most
 “ particular object was to support the height upon my right,
 “ which I think decided the whole action.

“ I have seen by this, that our opponents will only risk
 “ themselves in affairs of posts, and that we must take special
 “ care not to attack them merely with our hussars. They
 “ are more inured to stratagems than formerly; and, let me
 “ assure you, that, without a great deal of cannon, it will
 “ cost an infinite number of troops to beat them.

“ Muller, of the artillery, has performed wonders, and se-
 “ conded me amazingly.

“ I cannot mention my losses without tears. Generals
 “ Luderiz and Oerzen are killed, and Holzendorff, of the
 “ gens d’armes. I will not afflict you by reminding you of
 “ my losses; this powerful effort exceeds the enterprize at
 “ Soor, and every thing I have seen of my troops. This
 “ will make the Saxons surrender. I embrace you, my dear
 “ marshal, and advise you to act with prudence. Adieu.”

(71) The king wrote on the side of this article of the
 capitulation: “ There are no exceptions to be made, more
 “ especially as the king of Poland has given orders to his
 “ Saxons in Poland to join the Russians, and pass the
 “ frontiers of Silesia; and I must be mad indeed to release
 “ troops I have in my possession, expose myself to see them
 “ fighting

"fighting against me a second time, and be obliged a second time to take them prisoners."

(72) *First Letter from the King of Poland to the King of Prussia.*

"Dresden, 29th August, 1756.

"Having been requested, by your majesty's envoy at my court, to allow your troops a passage through my states into Bohemia, I have granted it, in hopes that you will order them to observe an exact discipline; and, in order the better to regulate every point relative to their march, I send your majesty Meagher, my lieutenant-general, and commander of the Swiss guards. As for the rest, though the unexpected pretensions baron de Malzahn added on this occasion, in your majesty's name, appear to me very singular, and by no means consistent with the treaty of peace and alliance between us, I flatter myself, nevertheless, that your majesty will deign so to explain yourself to my lieutenant-general Meagher, as perfectly to tranquilize me on that head. In this firm persuasion, I remain," &c.

The King of Prussia's Answer.

"Pretsch, 1st of September, 1756.

"The propensity I had to peace is so notorious, that nothing I could say to your majesty on the subject could more strongly confirm it than the convention of neutrality I have formed with the king of England. Since that, the court of Vienna thinks, by various changes of system, that the favourable moment is at length arrived, of carrying into execution the projects she has long meditated against me. I have employed the means of negotiation, as the most proper, in my opinion, to remove on one side and the other the suspicions to which the court of Vienna had given rise by several of her arrangements.

“ The first answer I received was so obscure and enigmatical, that no prince, who pays the least attention to his safety, could venture to be satisfied with it. The second was so full of haughtiness and contempt, that every prince who is independent, and holds his honour dear, must have been offended at it; and though I only demanded assurances from the empress-queen that she would undertake nothing against me this and the ensuing year, yet did she not deign to answer me on an article of such importance. It is this refusal which has forced me, against my will, to embrace the measures I have taken, as the best adapted to thwart the intentions of my enemies.

“ Sentiments of peace and humanity, however, have induced me to make still further representations by my ambassador at Vienna; and I have ordered him not to conceal from that court, that the last answer I received was not only not too moderate in the choice of expressions, but filled with a false logic, which by no means satisfied my demand; that, in the interim, I had begun to put myself in motion; but that, notwithstanding this, if the empress-queen was yet resolved to accord me the security I demanded, for this year and the next, she might depend upon it that I would cheerfully sacrifice to the public tranquillity all the expences which the opening of this campaign has cost me, and promise, from that moment, to restore every thing to its ancient footing. The springs by which I am set in motion in this transaction, are neither the thirst of gain nor the ardour of glory: it is the protection I owe my subjects, and the absolute necessity of counteracting plots which would every day encrease, if the sword did not interpose in time to cut this indissoluble knot. Such are the motives, which I am at present able to lay before your majesty, of all my measures. As for Saxony, I will spare it as much as my present situation will permit. I shall have for your majesty, and all your
“ royal

" royal family, every attention and all the esteem I owe a
 " great prince I love, and for whom I am concerned only
 " inasmuch as he puts too much confidence in the coun-
 " sels of a man whose evil intentions are but too well
 " known to me, and whose dangerous designs I could de-
 " monstrate by proofs written with his own hand. During
 " my whole life I have made a profession of honour and of
 " probity ; a character I hold infinitely higher than that of
 " king, in which pure accident has given me birth ; and by
 " this character, I protest, that, whatever appearance of hos-
 " tility my actions may display, especially at the commence-
 " ment, your majesty will see, even should we never attain
 " the means of accommodation, how dear your interests are
 " to me. Accordingly, you will always find, in my way of
 " acting, a decided zeal for your advantage, and for that of
 " all your family, whatever may be alledged by certain per-
 " sons, who are too much beneath me, for me to deign to
 " humble myself by naming them.

" I am," &c.

Second Letter from the King of Poland to the King of Prussia.

" Dresden, 3d September, 1756.

" I have just received from General Meagher the answer
 " to the letter with which I charged him for your majesty.
 " I thank your majesty sincerely for the marks of esteem and
 " friendship you are pleased to testify towards me. I hope
 " that your majesty will deign likewise to give me, as soon
 " as possible, real proofs of these assurances, which I infinitely
 " esteem.

" The differences which have arisen between your ma-
 " jesty and the empress-queen in no way respect me. You
 " have had the goodness also to inform me of the fresh re-
 " presentations you have made at the court of Vienna, and
 " that your measures will be regulated by the answer which

“ you shall obtain. Yet, after having simply demanded of
“ me a passage, which, by the constitution of the empire,
“ well known to your majesty, should be no way prejudicial
“ to my states, I might have imagined that it was but equi-
“ table not to take possession of them, and punctually to ad-
“ here to the authentic declaration made by your majesty,
“ that you had no intention of acting against me as an ene-
“ my, nor of treating as inimical my dominions, but, on the
“ contrary, as becomes a friendly and well-intentioned
“ neighbour. Far from this conduct, your majesty’s troops
“ extort all sorts of supplies, make themselves masters of the
“ public coffers, demolish part of my fortress of Witten-
“ berg, and carry off my officers, nay even my generals,
“ wherever they can find them. I appeal, therefore, to the
“ sentiments of rectitude and probity which your majesty
“ professes, and make no doubt that you will not permit my
“ states to suffer from the differences which reign between
“ your majesty and the empress-queen. As for the rest, I
“ earnestly wish that your majesty would discover to me the
“ pernicious designs which you have deigned to mention in
“ your preceding letter, and of which, hitherto, I have no
“ idea. In the interim, I flatter myself your majesty will
“ condescend to pay attention to my solicitations, and eva-
“ cuate my states as soon as possible. I am ready, as I have
“ declared, to promise every security your majesty can desire
“ from me, not contrary to equity, nor degradatory of my
“ rank. However, as there is no time to lose, and I find
“ myself in the indispensable necessity of preventing the fur-
“ ther march of the troops, which act in some measure as
“ enemies, and thence give reason to apprehend still more
“ dangerous consequences, I am resolved to repair to my
“ army, there to wait in a short time more positive decla-
“ rations from your majesty; but I, once more, protest, that
“ my intention is not to depart from the treaty of neutra-
“ lity

“lity on which we are on the point of agreeing, but, on
 “the contrary, I am perfectly well disposed to sign it with
 “the greatest satisfaction.”

Answer of the King of Prussia.

“Lomitz, 5th of September, 1756.

“Count Salmour has delivered me the letter your majesty
 “has had the goodness to send me. However strong may
 “be the desire and propensity I have to please your majesty,
 “still is it not in my power to withdraw my troops from
 “your states: a hundred reasons of war oppose it, which it
 “would be tedious to specify: a principal one is, the se-
 “curity of my convoys. I could have wished to have made
 “Thuringia the passage to Bohemia, in which case it would
 “not have been necessary for me to become a burthen to
 “your majesty’s states; but as certain reasons of war oblige
 “me to make use of the Elbe, I cannot, without a miracle,
 “chuse other means than those of which I now avail myself.
 “I employ all possible celerity, yet my troops cannot make
 “use of wings.

“As for the rest, I am well enabled to prove to your ma-
 “jesty what I have already advanced respecting the conduct
 “you hold, and which is extremely opposite to the articles
 “of the peace of Dresden; and this I would instantly do,
 “were I not withholden by certain rules which prudence
 “still obliges me to observe. In the interim, I shall never
 “forget what I owe to crowned heads, and to a neighbour-
 “ing prince, whose sole misfortune it is to have been sedu-
 “ced, and for whom, were he even my greatest enemy, as
 “well as for his whole royal family, I shall always retain
 “the most distinguished and most perfect esteem,” &c.

Answer of the King of Poland to the King of Prussia.

“Strouppen, 10th September, 1756.

“I have, with all possible complaisance, been before-hand
 “with your majesty in every thing you could equitably ex-
 “pect

"pect from me. Immediately after the first proposition made
 "to me by your majesty's ambassador residing at my court,
 "I sent general Meagher, as well to assure you of my perfect
 "neutrality, as to grant your troops and artillery a free pas-
 "sage into Bohemia, and to learn, at the same time, from
 "your majesty, in what you wished the securities required
 "for that purpose to consist : besides which, I have renewed
 "these offers more in detail by the ambassador of Great Bri-
 "tain, without ever receiving any positive declaration on the
 "part of your majesty. I have, in fine, in a letter presented
 "to you by count Salmour, pointed out the reasons which
 "induced me to repair to my army. After such a conduct
 "on my part, I might have flattered myself, as the envoy of
 "Great Britain gave me reason to hope, that your majesty
 "would deign to send some person from whom I might learn
 "your intentions and real demands. Several days, however,
 "are elapsed, yet I have received no light upon this article.
 "It only depended on myself to retreat with my army into
 "Bohemia, and put it out of danger : I might also have
 "listened to various propositions, which I have uniformly re-
 "jected. In spite of all this, I have persisted in remaining
 "here, under the firm persuasion that the conditions your
 "majesty might require of me could not but be conformable
 "to the peace which subsists between us, and to the assu-
 "rances of friendship with which your letters are filled, and
 "according to which you simply demand an adequate secu-
 "rity, that I shall undertake nothing against you, and grant
 "you the free use of the Elbe. I offer to accord these two
 "points to your majesty, with all the assurances you can
 "equitably require of me. But, it is time to come to a clear
 "explanation on the subject, for which purpose I send
 "count de Bellegarde, my lieutenant-general, and governor
 "of the prince my son, who will have the honour of pre-
 "senting this letter to your majesty. I beg you to open
 "yourself to him in such a way as to establish perfect har-

"mony

“mony between us. Your majesty may be assured, that I
 “will contribute to it as far as depends on me; but, on the
 “other hand, every extraordinary pretension will but serve
 “to drive me to extremities, and my army are well disposed,
 “in case of an attack, to sacrifice to their very last drop of
 “blood.”

Answer of his Majesty the King of Prussia.

“Sedlitz, 11th September, 1756.

“Let your majesty deign to recollect, what I have never
 “ceased to mention, that, being perfectly well informed of
 “the evil intentions of your minister, it becomes my duty to
 “employ some precautions for my own safety in the outset
 “of a war which the empress-queen has excited against me.
 “In the first place, it is necessary for me to secure the course
 “of the Elbe; and, secondly, not to leave an army in my
 “rear, which might only wait the favourable moment of my
 “being occupied with the enemy to fall upon me. This is
 “what retains, and will still retain me here, until that ob-
 “stacle shall be removed; and, as the answer I this moment
 “receive from Vienna, drives me to extremities, I can make
 “no change in this resolution. The queen of Poland and
 “all the royal family are in good health: they may go where-
 “ever they think proper, and enjoy all possible liberty, as
 “well as the persons in public employments under your ma-
 “jesty. You perceive by this I keep my word; and if you
 “wish to come this day or to-morrow, and make a tour by
 “my army, your majesty will discover that all persons will
 “testify as much esteem for the king of Poland as if we
 “were living in perfect harmony.”

Fourth Letter from the King of Poland to the King of Prussia.

“Strouppen, 12 September, 1756.

“Count de Bellegarde has delivered me your majesty’s
 “letter, by the contents of which I see that nothing pre-
 “vents

“ vents the passage of your troops but the necessity of pre-
 “ viously becoming master of the Elbe, and the precaution
 “ of preventing my troops from attempting any thing against
 “ you during the war just lighted up between your majesty
 “ and the empress-queen. It is for this reason I do not delay
 “ my reply a moment, that I may remove this obstacle, by
 “ destroying, if possible, that diffidence which seems to pos-
 “ sess your majesty. As for one of these points, I consent to
 “ it; and am ready to guaranty the other. Let your ma-
 “ jesty depend upon my royal word, which none of my mi-
 “ nisters has ever hitherto attempted (nor could harbour the
 “ daring presumption) to make me break; but if, notwith-
 “ standing this, your majesty thinks you have a right to re-
 “ quire more substantial securities, however sufficient my
 “ word of honour, I am disposed to cede to you the fortresses
 “ of Wittenberg and Torgau, nay even that of Pirna, as
 “ long as the war shall last. As to the securities required
 “ touching the army, I know not what to propose to your
 “ majesty, except hostages, which I may offer at all events.
 “ I hope that these offers will entirely satisfy your ma-
 “ jesty, and convince you of the sincerity of my intentions.
 “ The conditions I in return desire from your majesty, con-
 “ sist in evacuating, as soon as possible, my states, and in suf-
 “ fering my troops, freely and without molestation, to return
 “ to their quarters, in which, however, the three aforesaid
 “ places shall not be included, with the hopes that your ma-
 “ jesty's troops will live there at their own expence, and not
 “ intermeddle with what concerns civil matters. To avoid
 “ entering into a detail of every thing relative to this arrange-
 “ ment, I leave your majesty to make choice of the person
 “ to be employed for that purpose. I will do the same on
 “ my side, so that they may settle matters between them, and
 “ receive our approbation. Let your majesty, by this, con-
 “ sider how far I carry my advances. It is impossible for me
 “ to do more; and I should prefer proceeding to the very

“ last

“last extremities, rather than forget what I owe to myself,
“my country, and my army,” &c.

Answer of the King of Prussia.

“Sedlitz, 12th September, 1756.

“Let your majesty but recollect my letter of yesterday,
“wherein I observed, that it is not only very dangerous, but
“even almost impossible, to enter by Saxony into Bohemia,
“and leave an army behind me. If marks of simple com-
“plaisance only were in question, there are none I would not
“shew your majesty; but, in the present case, nothing less
“is at stake than the security and preservation of a country
“of which I am king; and it is precisely this which pre-
“vents me from quitting Saxony until I am thoroughly
“convinced that I shall leave nothing behind me of which
“I may eventually have reason to repent. My van-guard is
“already in Bohemia, it is followed by a considerable corps,
“and if it pleases your majesty to send one of your officers,
“which of them is immaterial, I will shew him the dispo-
“sition of my troops. I have no reason to be in a hurry,
“and I shall see whether my patience in waiting, or perhaps
“other means and measures, will decide respecting my present
“situation.

“Whatever may be the issue, your majesty will find me al-
“ways unalterable in my sentiments for you, your royal fa-
“mily, and all who are connected with it.”

Fifth Letter from the King of Poland to the King of Prussia.

“Strouppen, 13 September, 1756.

“I did imagine that your majesty would have at length ad-
“mitted the propositions I made in my preceding letter, and
“would point out to me the species of security you think
“you have a right to demand. It must consist, then, ac-
“cording to all appearance, solely in the ruin of my army,
“either by the sword or famine. The latter event is very
“far

“ far from being likely to happen ; the divine protection,
 “ the firmness and fidelity of my troops, and the absolute ne-
 “ cessity of coming to this extremity, put me out of the reach
 “ of the former. Let your majesty deign to cast an eye on
 “ the situation in which you place me. I am ready to do
 “ every thing to content your majesty on the article you
 “ have so much at heart, consistently with my honour.

Answer of the King of Prussia.

“ Sedlitz, 13th September, 1756.

“ I have nothing so much at heart as what personally con-
 “ cerns your majesty's dignity and honour. You may be as-
 “ sured that your person occasions me more uneasiness in
 “ your camp than your troops. I flatter myself, however,
 “ that there are still means of reconciling your majesty's dig-
 “ nity with what my interests indispensably require, and of
 “ terminating this difference in a way well suited to us both.
 “ I wait, if your majesty has no objection, your approbation
 “ of a design I have of sending one of my generals to you
 “ furnished with certain propositions. I beg your majesty
 “ to talk with him in private, and alone, and to honour him
 “ with an answer. I again repeat and protest on my honour,
 “ which is dearer to me than my life, that I have no animo-
 “ sity against your majesty's person : but it is at this mo-
 “ ment of the last necessity that your majesty's destiny should
 “ be united with mine ; and I attest, by every thing I hold
 “ sacred, that, if fortune is favourable to me in the present
 “ war, your majesty will have no reason to be dissatisfied
 “ with me ; and if, on the contrary, she turns her back on
 “ me, Saxony shall undergo the same fate with Prussia and
 “ my other states.”

Sixth Letter from the King of Poland to the King of Prussia.

“ Strouppen, 13 September, 1756.

“ Having learnt from the obliging answer brought me by
 “ my aide-de-camp, major-general Sporcken, your majesty's
 “ resolution

“resolution of sending me one of your generals, I lose no
 “time in assuring you that I expect him with pleasure, that
 “I will converse alone with him, and will so explain myself
 “as to give your majesty reason to be fully satisfied.”

Answer of the King of Prussia.

“Sedlitz, 14th September, 1756.

“I send, as it is agreeable to your majesty, lieutenant-ge-
 “neral Winterfeldt, who will have the honour of presenting
 “to you my letter. Your majesty may give entire credit to
 “what he shall say to you on my part, and I hope his com-
 “mission will have a happy issue, and prove equally satisfac-
 “tory to us both. May this interview serve eventually to
 “form a real and salutary connection between two neigh-
 “bouring states, who cannot do without each other, and
 “whose genuine interests consist in remaining constantly
 “united.”

Seventh Letter from the King of Poland to the King of Prussia.

“Strouppen, 15 September, 1756.

“I would give any thing in the world to have it in my
 “power to enter into your majesty’s views. General Win-
 “terfeldt has declared them to me, and from the manner in
 “which he proposed them, they would have made still more
 “impression on me, had it been possible for me to consent
 “to what your majesty requires. The general will, un-
 “doubtedly, have faithfully reported all those important rea-
 “sons which prevent me from embracing the plan. These
 “reasons will serve at once as proofs of my sentiments, and
 “of the inviolable constancy with which I keep my word.
 “It is with the same certainty that your majesty may depend
 “upon the accomplishment of the promises I made him.
 “How could I commence hostilities against a princess who
 “has not afforded me the slightest cause to justify such at-
 “tacks, and to whom I am obliged, by an ancient defensive
 “treaty,

" treaty, with which your majesty is sufficiently acquainted,
 " to furnish six thousand men, if, as in the present case, the
 " aggressor were not doubtful? This subject, therefore, must
 " be sunk in silence. From the very first appearance of this
 " war, I took a firm resolution not to become a party con-
 " cerned in it, and have consequently rejected all the offers
 " made me on the subject. Full of the idea that I had no-
 " thing to apprehend, as I had embarked in none of these dis-
 " putes, and resolved as I was to persist in the same senti-
 " ments, I have not marched into Bohemia, nor have I per-
 " mitted the Austrian troops to reinforce mine, notwithstand-
 " ing the entry of your majesty's army into my states. As I
 " shall never depart from these sentiments, which your ma-
 " jesty cannot yourself disapprove, I flatter myself that you
 " will acquiesce, likewise, in the propositions I made in my
 " letter of the 12th, or substitute such others as may tran-
 " quillize your majesty respecting my troops, from whom you
 " have nothing to apprehend. To this purpose, I send to
 " your majesty baron d'Arnimb, my general of cavalry. Were
 " it possible for us to come to an agreement on this point, it
 " would be a very proper channel for establishing a sincere
 " union between two neighbouring countries, which really
 " cannot do without each other, and whose truest interests
 " consist in a strict connection."

Answer of the King of Prussia.

" Sedlitz, 15 September, 1756.

" General d'Arnimb delivered to me your majesty's letter.
 " I conversed with him on every point concerning his com-
 " mission, and explained myself to him, as general Winter-
 " feldt had the honour of doing in your majesty's presence.
 " I am sorry not to be able to push my complaisance any
 " further. But, after what I have already repeated to ge-
 " neral d'Arnimb, nothing now remains for me but to sign
 " myself," &c.

Eighth

Eighth Letter from the King of Poland to the King of Prussia.

“Dresden, 15 September, 1756.

“As I cannot, notwithstanding the misfortune which has befallen my electorate, forget what I owe my kingdom, where the diet is fixed for the 4th of the next month, I avail myself of the opportunity offered me by your majesty, in the assurances you renewed to me by the letter of the 12th, to request your majesty to grant me, as well as the two princes my sons, my minister, and my suit, a free passage in all security to Poland. I shall pass by Breslaw, as the one hundred and thirty horses I stand in need of for my journey are more easily to be met with on that road.

“I am confident your majesty will start no difficulty on this head; but have, at the same time, the goodness to send me, as soon as possible, passports for two officers, who are to precede me, and make the necessary preparations of horses and accommodations at the places where I shall stop.”

Ninth Letter from the King of Poland to the King of Prussia.

“16th September, 1756.

“On the point of dispatching another letter by a trumpet to general d’Arnimb, who was to have the honour of delivering it to your majesty, I learnt the return of that general, who not only brought me the letter with which your majesty honoured me, but repeated to me what you had said to him. Your majesty has, doubtless, already anticipated my surprise at your refusal of my propositions, which are but too equitable. Since your majesty will admit of nothing but what is diametrically opposite to my sincerity and word of honour, having no measure to reproach myself with, I leave the issue to Providence. From the report of general d’Arnimb, your majesty is resolved, then, to put a garrison into Dresden, and to make a place

“ of arms of my capital, where the queen and all the royal
 “ family reside. Hitherto, respect has always been paid to
 “ royal personages, and their residence has been spared even
 “ during the prosecution of the most bloody wars. In the
 “ time of the late king my father, when the king of Sweden
 “ entered as an enemy into Saxony, not one of his soldiers
 “ dared set his foot within his particular residence. I leave
 “ every thing to the pleasure of your majesty, and conjure
 “ you so to act as not to interrupt in any way the corre-
 “ spondence between the queen and my family, and to have
 “ the complaisance to allow free ingress and egress to my
 “ court, and to suffer to remain upon its usual footing all
 “ which relates to either my equipages or any other part of
 “ my establishment which may prove indispensably necessary
 “ for my use in Poland. I renew my prayers respecting the
 “ suitable attention to the safety of the queen, my royal fa-
 “ mily, my court, my capital, and, in general, of all the
 “ country of which you have taken possession.

“ I am, &c.”

Answer of the King of Prussia.

“ Sedlitz, 16th September, 1756.

“ I have just received two letters from your majesty, one
 “ of which regards your residence, the other your departure
 “ for Poland. The complaints of your majesty concerning
 “ the city of Dresden are of a nature easily to be removed.
 “ As for the departure for Poland, I hope your majesty will
 “ previously deign to terminate the negotiations you have be-
 “ gun touching the army, which, by your absence, may be
 “ spun out too long. It will only cost your majesty two
 “ words, and the affair will be settled on the spot. I will then
 “ immediately expedite the two passports required, and order
 “ relays of horses in Silesia where-ever your majesty shall
 “ think proper, as I desire nothing so much as to give your
 “ majesty proofs of the perfect esteem with which I am, &c.”

Tenth

Tenth Letter from the King of Poland to the King of Prussia.

“ 17th September, 1756.

“ By the answer I received yesterday from your majesty, I
 “ perceive that you desire to see the end of the negociations
 “ entered into respecting my army before my departure. But,
 “ how can I terminate them, when the propositions of your
 “ majesty are of such a nature as to render it impossible to ad-
 “ mit them? I have pointed out all possible means of conci-
 “ liation, but your majesty has not testified the smallest in-
 “ tention of acquiescing in them.

“ This it is which has made me finally conclude that every
 “ method of mediation would prove henceforward entirely
 “ useless, and, therefore, content myself with simply desiring
 “ a free passage into Poland, where my presence is absolutely
 “ necessary at the approaching diet. I hope your majesty will
 “ be pleased to grant me this, and the request I have made re-
 “ specting my residence. As for what concerns my army, I
 “ have decided respecting its fate, having taken, on that
 “ head, a resolution befitting my honour and the necessity of
 “ the case. I am, with much esteem, &c.”

Answer of the King of Prussia.

“ Sedlitz, 17th September, 1756.

“ I send general Winterfeldt to learn the resolution which
 “ your majesty has embraced, which is to decide the only
 “ part there now remains for me to pursue. I am, &c.”

Eleventh Letter from the King of Poland to the King of Prussia.

“ Strouppen, 18th September, 1756.

“ General Winterfeldt will have given your majesty the
 “ answer that my honour and probity, which I have preserved
 “ to my sixtieth year, dictated to me. Your majesty takes
 “ possession of my states without reason. Let Europe be the
 “ arbiter of my cause, and of the fabricated plan laid to my

“ charge, the falsity of which will be easily recognized by
 “ every court of Europe, as I have never made propositions
 “ similar to those pretended to be imputed to me. I do not
 “ know how it is possible to justify such a mode of acting,
 “ which neither I, nor, indeed, any other person, could ever
 “ have suspected. As your majesty has not yet answered me
 “ respecting my departure for Poland, you cannot be offended
 “ if I return to the charge; for my presence there is very ne-
 “ cessary. I am, &c.”

Answer of the King of Prussia.

“ Sedlitz, 18th September, 1756.

“ I have the more reason to be surpris'd that your majesty
 “ should still continue to doubt of the evil intentions of your
 “ minister, after the authentic proofs which I have produced
 “ of their existence, since I have in my hand the original
 “ papers, which I was obliged to get possession of for my jus-
 “ tification. I am convinced that the whole impartial world
 “ will acknowledge, that the present state of my affairs, and
 “ the sinister designs of your majesty's minister, have reduced
 “ me to the indispensable necessity of taking a part entirely
 “ contrary to my inclination and sentiments. Your majesty
 “ seems in a great hurry to set out, but you will likewise re-
 “ collect that I cannot wait any longer with respect to your
 “ troops and mine, which are opposite to each other. These
 “ two points should, in my opinion, be expedited at the same
 “ time.

“ I have learnt, however, with great displeasure, the te-
 “ merity of some of my officers who dared to seize the venison
 “ destined for your majesty's table. You may be persuaded,
 “ that if I can discover them, they shall be very rigorously
 “ treated, and that I shall always regard as sacred every thing
 “ which concerns your majesty's person and royal family.
 “ Before I conclude, I cannot help deploring, from my heart,
 “ that your majesty has entered into an alliance with my
 “ enemies,

"enemies, which, according to your own avowal, forces you
 "to neglect the real interests of your person and states. I
 "am, &c."

Another Answer of the King.

"Strouppen, 18th September, 1756.

"SIR AND BROTHER,

"Since our affairs are at present arranged *, and your ma-
 "jesty has your departure for Poland so much at heart, I have
 "immediately expedited all the orders you demanded by ma-
 "jor Zechwiz; and I wish you with all my heart a happy
 "journey. It will depend solely on your majesty what road
 "you wish to take; and, in case your majesty desires to meet
 "none of my troops on the way, you have only to signify
 "your pleasure to baron Sporcken, that I may order them to
 "withdraw. I conclude with the most sincere protestations,
 "that, in spite of every thing I have been constrained to do
 "in the present conjuncture, I shall always preserve for your
 "majesty the most perfect friendship, and seize every oppor-
 "tunity of testifying to you, and to all the royal family, how
 "greatly I interest myself for their advantage. In the mean
 "time, I shall always remain, with the most distinguished
 "sentiments of esteem, and the most perfect consideration,

"SIR AND BROTHER,

"Your majesty's faithful brother,

"FREDERICK."

(73) It was the custom of the ancient Germans to admit no
 judges in their quarrels, but to decide them with the sword or
 the fist; which was called in German *Faufrecht*,* literally,
 the *right* of the *fist*. Even during the fifteenth century no-
 thing was more common in Germany than to see one prince
 at war with another, city with city, and gentleman with gen-

* By the capture of the whole Saxon army.

tleman. It was not till the reign of Maximilian I. that the princes and states of Germany consented to make a general peace, which they called a *public peace*, and to establish a tribunal in the empire to decide differences. This public peace is a fundamental law of the empire, and ordains that no state of the empire shall declare or make war against another, but shall be obliged to lay their complaints before the tribunal of the empire, and wait for judgment and assistance. He who shall act contrary to this law, or employ violence against another, is to be regarded as the enemy of the empire, and the other states shall unite their forces to subdue and punish him. These forces consist in troops, which, in this case, the states of the empire are obliged to furnish according to a certain fixed proportion. An army of the empire, or the circles, is composed of several *contingents*, by which name the number of men furnished by each state is called; and all these contingents are composed of newly-enlisted soldiers, without either exercise or knowledge in the military art. There was a time when an army of this nature, composed of 10,000 men, would have disarmed the margrave of Brandenburg, and compelled him to submit to the decree of the empire. But we may well imagine that such an army is but a feeble instrument against a permanent force of 150,000 men. The movements of the army of the circles against the king of Prussia are become an object of pleasantry and ridicule. A singular error of the press, in the German decree published on this occasion by the tribunal of the empire, to put Frederick under its ban, afforded fresh matter for satire. It declared that the empire would assemble against the king their *miserable contingents* (*elende Reichshülfe*, instead of *eilenden Reichshülfe*). The tribunal sent a notary, called April, to M. de Ploto, Frederick's envoy at Ratisbon, to signify to him the proscription of his master, Frederick, elector of Brandenburg; but M. Ploto kicked Mr. April down stairs with the decree of his tribunal. The king answered this pompous decree by

the

the victory of Lowositz, and the capture of the Saxon army at Pirna. Nothing proves more clearly than this event the vice of the Germanic constitution, and the absurdity of these tribunals, which even the counts of the empire laugh at, when supported by any prince who may be even inconsiderably powerful. The late landgrave of Hesse Cassel publicly caned a notary of the Imperial chamber of Wezlar, who signified to him, on the parade, a decree issued against him by that chamber.

The German doctors on this occasion engaged in warm disputes, upon the question, *Whether the public peace was broken or not?* Those of Vienna contended, that the irruption of Frederick into Saxony and Bohemia was a real infraction of that peace; whilst those of Berlin asserted, that the rupture of the public peace did not consist only in hostile acts, but also in conspiracies and alliances against another state; whence they concluded, that the courts of Dresden and Vienna had first violated this peace, and that Frederick had only acted in consequence of the *right of prevention*, and for his own security.

(74) Some of the generals urged the propriety of deferring the attack until the next morning, as the troops had, that day, made a long march, and were fatigued; but the king replied, "*We must strike the iron when it is hot;*" and the attack was determined on.

(75) In the history of a free people, Schwérin would have obtained a place by the side of a *Codrus*, a *Curtius*, or a *Decius*. Prussia, for which he so generously sacrificed his life, was not his country; he was already a general when he entered into that service. Military honour, the ardent desire of partaking the glory of Frederick, and of the soldiers he commanded, produced in him the same enthusiasm which the love of liberty and patriotism inspired into the heroes of antiquity.

Glory made him despise life. These generous sentiments were aided, doubtless, by the circumstance of his having passed a year by the side of Charles XII. at Bender.

Schwérin entered into the service of Prussia in 1720. He had served in the Low Countries, and on the side of England under Marlborough and Eugene. In the first and second war of Silesia, he had the command of the army under the orders of the king, and was wounded at the battle of Mollwitz. He fell at the age of 73.

After the battle, Frederick repaired to the spot where Schwérin's body still lay covered with blood. He contemplated him for some time in silence; tears flowed from his eyes; and he at length exclaimed, "*I have lost a father!*"

Frederick has erected a marble statue to his memory in one of the public squares of Berlin. He is represented with the colours in his hand, in the attitude in which he fell. The dress is *Roman*, with the sword and order of *Prussia*, all which produces a bad effect.

On the 7th of September, 1776, the emperor Joseph II. viewing the spot on which the brave general was slain, ordered three rounds of cannon and musketry to be fired, in honour of this hero, by five battalions of grenadiers; and at each discharge the prince took off his hat.

(76) After the battle, Frederick wrote the following letter to the queen mother, dated 6th May, 1757:

"Madam,

"My brothers and I are still in good health. The Austrians risk losing the whole campaign, and I am free with
 "150,000 men. Add to this, that we are masters of a
 "kingdom which is obliged to furnish us with troops and
 "money. The Austrians are dispersed like chaff before the
 "wind. I shall send a part of my troops to pay their compliments to the French, and am going to follow the Austrians with the remainder of my army, &c."

In

In this battle, the king made a soldier, who distinguished himself, a lieutenant. This man, although excellent in his subaltern station, made a bad officer. The commander of his regiment was obliged to desire the king to place him in some rank more suitable to his talents. Frederick, of which it is impossible to conceive the reason, made him a counsellor of war. The new counsellor, placed in a college of the affairs of which he was totally ignorant, and assisting at conferences above his comprehension, authoritatively decided every point at a venture; and when his brethren the counsellors were not of his opinion, he drew his sabre, and wanted to force them to vote with him. We may imagine that so turbulent a counsellor could not prove very agreeable to the company. The president begged the king to extricate them from their connections with this obstreperous member, but Frederick replied, "At present I have no other place to give the counsellor of war. . . . I cannot, therefore, comply with your wishes. I will order him, however, to carry himself more inoffensively, and no longer to assist at your future meetings. But I am convinced of the abilities of my other counsellors of war, and imagine that so many men of understanding may well suffer amongst them one ignorant soldier."

(77) Three other generals, Fouquet, Winterfeldt, and Hautcharmoi, were also wounded in this battle.

(78) Daun liked order in the midst of the firing: he had the gift of possessing himself, and preserving his head as free as in his cabinet. He has been reproached with having too often temporized; but was it always permitted him to act as he thought proper?

(79) *Letter from the King of Prussia to my Lord Marshal, Governor of Neuschâtel, the Day after the Battle of Colin.*

"The Imperial grenadiers are an admirable troop; one hundred companies defended an height, which the best
"infantry

“ infantry could not carry. Ferdinand, who commanded the
 “ infantry, attacked them seven times, but fruitlessly.

“ On the first, he took a battery he could not keep. The
 “ enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-served
 “ train of artillery, which does honour to Lichtenstein,
 “ the director. Russia alone can dispute the palm with him.

“ I had not infantry enough; all my cavalry were present
 “ and doing nothing, except a push I made with my body.
 “ guards and some dragoons. Ferdinand attacked without
 “ powder, but, in return, the enemy did not spare theirs:
 “ they had in their favour two heights, entrenchments, and
 “ a prodigious artillery: several of my regiments fell by the
 “ musket. Henry did wonders! Henceforward I shall trem-
 “ ble for my worthy brothers; they are too brave. Fortune
 “ turned her back on me this day: it is only what I ought to
 “ expect; she is a female, and I am not gallant: she takes
 “ the side of the ladies who are at war with me,

“ To say the truth, I should avail myself of more infantry.
 “ Success, my dear lord, often inspires a prejudicial confi-
 “ dence. Three and twenty thousand men were not suffi-
 “ cient to dislodge sixty thousand from an advantageous post,
 “ We will do better another time.

“ What do you say of this league which has no other ob-
 “ ject but the elector of Brandenburg? The Great Elector
 “ would be astonished to see his grandson engaged with the
 “ Russians, the Austrians, almost all Germany, and 100,000
 “ auxiliary French.

“ I do not know whether my fall will be attended with
 “ any disgrace, but I am sure there will be little glory in
 “ overcoming me.”

In the midst of this battle, the king, wishing to rally
 his troops, and bring them to the charge a seventh time,
 found them wavering; on which he cried out, with an
 animated tone, “ *Would you live, then, eternally?*” This

singular

singular exhortation, amidst fire and slaughter, filled them with fresh ardour ; and they rushed on to death.

(80) The following is the account which the prince royal himself gives of the king's manner of receiving him :

“ At ten o'clock, the king arrived at the right wing of our camp, accompanied by his body-guards, some household troops and pioneers, whom he directed to mark out the camp for the regiments which he had brought with him. I mounted my horse to go and meet the king, with the prince of Bevern, the prince of Wirtemberg, and some of the principal generals. The king no sooner perceived us, than he turned about his horse, in which posture he continued near a quarter of an hour. But he was at last obliged to make way for the pioneers. I approached to pay my duty to him. He said not a word, did not deign to look at me, and scarcely moved his hat. Nor did he give a better reception to the prince of Bevern and the other generals. Soon after, he called general Goltz, and said to him, *Tell my brother and all his generals, that, if I did right, I should have all their heads struck off.*” This compliment was not agreeable ; some of the generals were afflicted at it, others piqued, whilst some turned it into rally.

“ I learnt that the king had forbidden the regiments which he brought with him to have any communication with those under my command, under the pretence that my officers and soldiers had lost all courage and ambition. The king dismissed general Schultz, whom I had sent for the watch word ; and when I waited on him myself with the lists and reports of the army, he took them hastily into his hands, and turned his back upon me.

“ General Schmettau was ordered to get out of the king's sight, and go to Dresden by the first conveyance.

“ After this shameful treatment, I resolved to quit the camp,

“ camp, and go to Budiffin, and the next day wrote him the following letter :

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ The letters you have written me, and the reception I met with yesterday, give me sufficiently to understand, that, in your opinion, I have forfeited my honour and reputation. This afflicts, but does not humble me, having nothing with which I can reproach myself. I am perfectly convinced that I have not acted from caprice, nor followed the advice of persons incapable of giving me good counsel, and have done every thing I thought adviseable for the army. All your generals will do me that justice. I hold it useless to beg of you to let my conduct be examined. That would be conferring a favour, and I cannot therefore expect it. My health is impaired by fatigue, but still more by chagrin. I have taken up my lodgings in town in order to recover it.

“ I have desired the prince of Bevern to lay before you the army reports ; he can give you an account of every thing. Be assured, my dear brother, that, in spite of the misfortunes that depress me, and which I have not merited, I shall never cease my attachment to the state ; and, as a faithful member of the same, my joy will be complete when I hear of the happy issue of your enterprizes. I have the honour to be, &c.”

“ The king wrote me the following answer with his own hand :

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ Your bad conduct has greatly deranged my affairs. It is not the enemy, but your ill-concerted measures, which have done me all the mischief. My generals are not pardonable, either for having given you bad advice, or for having permitted you to take such improper resolutions.

“ Your

"Your ears are only accustomed to hearken to the discourse of flatterers. Daun has not flattered you, and you see the consequences. In this sad situation, nothing remains for me but to recur to the last extremity. I am going to offer battle, and if we cannot conquer, we shall all seek death. I do not complain of your heart, but of your incapacity, and small share of judgment in chusing the best means. Whoever has but a few days to live, has nothing to dissemble. I wish you better fortune than I have had, and that all the evils and disadvantageous adventures you have experienced may teach you to treat important matters with more care, reason, and resolution. The chief part of the misfortunes I foresee, proceed only from yourself; you and your children will suffer more from them than I shall. Be assured, however, that I have always loved you, and that with these sentiments I shall die."

"I thought it as well not to answer this letter. Having learnt that the king would march in the evening to Weissenberg with 18 battalions and 28 squadrons, I asked him permission, through colonel Lentulus, to set out for Dresden with the first escort. The king answered, *That it depended on myself*, and that an escort would depart the same evening.

"All the generals who had been under my command, came to take leave of me, and all approved my resolution. General Winterfeldt waited on the king, and had a conversation of two hours with him; after which he boasted that the king had excepted him from the number of generals with whom he was dissatisfied. The prince of Bevern, whom the king took no notice of, was greatly afflicted. Winterfeldt had neither done nor counselled any thing better than the rest. This distinction excited many suspicions, and still more when it was known that he had been all along in secret correspondence with the king. I
"set

“ set out at five in the evening with two battalions of Haute-
 “ charmoi, and 400 waggons. We slept at a village, and
 “ on the 30th, at noon, arrived at Dresden. I immediately
 “ wrote to the ministry, and all the governors of fortresses in
 “ Silesia, to shew them the impossibility I had been in of
 “ sending them succours.

“ The king, to get rid of their complaints, had referred
 “ them all to me, and signified to them that I was authorized
 “ to send the necessary forces to put the province out of dan-
 “ ger of being pillaged by the light troops, at the very time
 “ he knew that I was environed by the whole Austrian army,
 “ and had the greatest difficulty to extricate myself.”

(81) The prince of Soubise, on arriving on the Lower Meuse, learnt with astonishment that the Prussians had just evacuated Wesel, a place deemed as strong as Luxembourg. The court of London, to whom the king of Prussia had long since imparted his project of abandoning this place, vigorously opposed his intentions. Being urged to give his ally the reasons which determined him to adopt this resolution, he alledged, that, to defend a place like Wesel, it was necessary to have a garrison of 25,000 men, and proved that the same number of troops would be more useful to him elsewhere. What Frederick replied to England was true; but these were not the only motives which determined him: the tardiness of the Hanoverians, who would do nothing, decided him: for, by leaving Wesel to stand a siege, there is no doubt that the French, notwithstanding the bravery of the prince of Soubise, and the skill of that nation in conducting sieges, would have been at least two months retarded before that place; the Hanoverians, sure that the French could not penetrate during the course of that campaign into their country, would have taken special care not to march, and Frederick, the victim of his alliance, would have gratuitously served them. This prince, too politic to act on such principles, imagined that, by open-

ing the gates of Wesel, the prince of Soubise, finding no longer any considerable barrier to oppose his entrance into the electorate of Hanover, would at length force the Hanoverians to move; and what he foresaw came to pass.

(82) On the 8th, there were still some difficulties respecting this convention. Baron Sporcker, a lieutenant-general of the duke of Cumberland's army, arrived the same day at the French camp with instructions from this prince, which removed every subject of contestation, and the convention was not signed till the 9th by the duke of Cumberland and marshal Richelieu.

In the preamble it is stated, that the king of Denmark, sensible of the misfortunes to which the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which formerly belonged to him, are exposed by the disagreeable circumstances of this war, has offered his mediation to England; in consequence, this monarch stipulates, by the voice of count Limar, that he is guaranty of the capitulation on the point of being signed by the two generals of the respective armies

This convention is, in substance, as follows: That hostilities having ceased on one side and the other, the auxiliary troops of the Hanoverian army, namely, those of Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe Gotha, and even those of La Lippe Bückebourg, shall all of them return home, and the duke of Cumberland engages to pass the Elbe with the part of his army which he cannot place at Stade. The troops which shall enter that town are estimated at 5 or 6000 men. They shall remain there under the guaranty of his Danish majesty; they shall commit no hostility, nor be exposed to any from the French troops. It is then agreed that the Hanoverian army shall take up their winter quarters beyond the Elbe, &c.

The remainder of the convention respects the limits to be fixed for each army in the environs of Stade. There are also some separate articles, explanatory of certain points which might have given rise to doubts.

Letter

Letter from the King of Prussia to the King of England, after the Convention of Closter-Seven.

“SIRE,

“I have just learnt that a treaty of neutrality for the
 “electorate of Hanover is in agitation. Has your majesty so
 “little firmness and constancy as to suffer yourself to be
 “depressed by a few reverses of fortune? Are affairs, then,
 “in so ruined a state as to have become irretrievable?
 “Let your majesty give attention to the measure which
 “you think of taking, and to the procedure, likewise, which
 “you have compelled me to embrace. The first is the cause of
 “all the misfortunes which are preparing to overwhelm me.
 “I never would have renounced the alliance of France, but
 “for the fine promises your majesty made me. I by no
 “means repent of the treaty I have made with your Majesty;
 “but do not basely abandon me to the mercy of my enemies,
 “after having drawn almost all the forces of Europe upon
 “me. I trust that your majesty will recollect your engage-
 “ments, reiterated on the 26th of last month, and that you
 “will listen to no accommodation in which I shall not be
 “comprised.”

Answer from the MINISTRY of England to the King of Prussia.

“SIRE,

“The king, having required an account to be laid before
 “him of the representations of *Mr. Mitchel* on the subject
 “of certain overtures made by the electoral ministers of his
 “majesty concerning his German dominions, orders the fol-
 “lowing answer to be given to the king of Prussia’s *minister*:
 “That it never was his majesty’s intention, that the said
 “overtures, made without the participation of the British
 “council, should have the least influence on the conduct of
 “his majesty, as king. He views with the same eye as here-
 “tofore the pernicious effects of the union between the courts

“of

“ of Vienna and Versailles, which threatens to overthrow the
 “ public system and independence of all the powers of Eu-
 “ rope ; and considers as one of the fatal consequences of a
 “ dangerous connection, the step taken by the court of Vi-
 “ enna, of delivering the ports of the Low Countries into the
 “ hands of France, contrary to the faith of the most solemn
 “ treaties.

“ In so critical a situation, and whatever may have been
 “ the success of arms, his majesty is determined to act in con-
 “ tinued concert with the king of Prussia, respecting the
 “ most efficacious means of frustrating the unjust and op-
 “ pressive designs of their common enemies ; and the king of
 “ Prussia may be assured, that the British crown will con-
 “ tinue scrupulously to fulfil its engagements with his
 “ Prussian majesty, and to maintain them with firmness and
 “ vigour.”

(83) The army of the circles was exercised in this country by the bishop of Bamberg. One of the bishop's clergy, at the sight of this army and these warlike preparations, was so persuaded of victory, that, in a sermon, he addressed these words to his audience :

“ Victory cannot escape us ; for, besides this powerful ar-
 “ my, we have for us several holy knights ; *the pope, the most*
 “ *Christian king, the holy Roman empire, and the greatest part*
 “ *of the potentates.*—But the Protestants, whom have they to
 “ support them ? None, except the king of Prussia, and God.”

(84) Frederick's situation was in fact very melancholy. In one of those fatal moments when despair gets the better of reason, he was inclined to kill himself. He wrote to his sister at Bareith, that he was upon the point of committing suicide ; and as this resolution did not extinguish in him the love of glory, he wished to have it said that he had made verses on the brink of the grave. He wrote therefore a long

epistle in verse to the marquis d'Argens, in which he communicated to him his resolution, bidding him farewell. However singular this epistle may appear, observes Voltaire, from the nature of the subject, its author, and the personage to whom it is addressed, it is not possible entirely to transcribe it, on account of its numerous repetitions; but some passages in it are turned with some degree of success. The following are preserved by Voltaire:

At length, th' irrevocable die is cast!
 Fatigu'd with bending to affliction's blast,
 The days I shorten, which, profuse of woe,
 Nature would, on the life I scorn, bestow.
 Bold, yet at ease, with unaverted eye,
 On resolution's wing, prepar'd to fly,
 Through suicide, into the arms of death,
 And, mis'ry to escape, relinquish breath,
 I bid the vain chimera, pomp, adieu!
 Witful no more the glare of grandeur view,
 But, gladly, meet th' emancipating hour
 Which calls me from the fleeting blaze of pow'r.
 Though, once, th' insidious lustre seem'd so dear,
 Amidst the glory of my young career,
 Th' aspiring wish, weak indiscretion's guest,
 Has flown, for ever, from my chasten'd breast.
 Philosophy, of spotless truth the school,
 Shall, in the place of wild ambition, rule.
 Those frivolous seductions I despise
 Whence, through the dream of life, such errors rise.
 And, now, farewell! Voluptuousness divine!
 Your flattering allurements I resign!
 Nor, longer, 'midst th' enchanting troops remain,
 Whose flow'ry links can gaiety enchain.
 Ye Gods! dare I to mention joys presume,
 Whilst adverse flames my waiting soul consume?
 Seiz'd by the vulture, can the tender dove
 Still coo in sweetly-melting notes of love?
 Or, nightingales, when inur'd'rous hawks are near,
 Greet with melodious strains th' enraptur'd ear?
 Hostile to *me*, how long the star of light
 Has beam'd on days when, with resistless might,

F R E D E R I C K II.

Th' accumulating load of evils rose,
 And banish'd, from my tortur'd breast, repose!
 Penurious of his poppies, Sleep denies
 One single leaf to close my languid eyes.
 The dawn approaching, I exclaim'd, in tears,
 " Fresh mis'ries will arise when day appears."
 As night advanc'd, I knew her dark'ning shade
 With endless sorrows would my peace invade.
 " Heroes of Freedom! Ye whom I revere!
 " Spirits of Brutus and of Cato! Hear!
 " Along the maze where errors wildly play,
 " *Your* great examples shall illumine my way.
 " *Your* fun'ral torch the virtuous track shall show,
 " Which souls of common mould can never know."
 Avaunt! ye idle phantoms of the brain!
 Whom Superstition loves to entertain!
 Religion's aid I do not want, to trace
 What forms the nature of the human race.
 Sage Epicurus can explain it all;
 Tell that, worn out by time, our bodies fall;
 Prove that this breath, these vivid sparks of fire,
 However organiz'd, can ne'er aspire
 To immortality. Their *fragile kind*
 Is, still, to *perishable* points confin'd.
 Fram'd with the body, it in children grows;
 Feels pain; and, only, signs of weakness knows:
 It wanders; aims the darkness to explore;
 And, failing, drops with age . . . to rise *no more*:
 Destroy'd; and to a night eternal hurl'd,
 Beyond the confines of this living world.

A banish'd fugitive upon the earth,
 By treach'rous friends betray'd, I loath my birth.]
 Slight is each fabled pang compar'd to mine;
 Nor, 'midst such tortures did *Prometheus* pine.
 And, thus, at once, to terminate my grief,
 (Like wretches who, by death, procure relief,
 Delude their executioner, and burst,
 Through life, from an imprisonment accurst,)
 Whate'er the means, each fetter I unbind
 Which to the soul my wasted body join'd.
 My friend, within this portrait, can descry
 What reasons make me so resolv'd to die.

Nor think that, falling thus, with vain desire,
 To an *apotheosis* I aspire :
 Yet, when the Spring her verdant robe resumes,
 And, from her flow'ry bosom, wafts perfumes,
 Chuse wreaths, with roses and with myrtles drest,
 To decorate the grave where *I* shall rest.

Whatever Voltaire may think proper to advance respecting the turning of these verses, it must be allowed that they favour strongly of despair. Those he wrote at the same time to that coryphæus of French literature, are much better, from their being printed, doubtless, with less precipitation. They are to be found in the works of the *philosopher* of *Sans-Souci*, and conclude as follows :

Voltaire, within his hermitage secure,
 On lands to which his claims are doubly sure,
 Because upon his ancient faith they rise,
 In peace, may court fair Virtue for his prize :
 Virtue, to which, when *Plato* trac'd her laws,
 Obedience was his tribute of applause.
 But, Fred'rick, to confirm whose menac'd fate,
 On the fierce waves th' impending shipwrecks wait,
 The wildly-raging tempest must defy,
 And *live* a monarch, or, a monarch *die* !

(85) One of Seidlitz's dragoons, who, in the heat of the battle, was on the point of coming up with a Frenchman, perceived behind him, at the same instant, an Austrian cuirassier, with his uplifted sabre, ready to cleave his head in twain. "*German comrade*," cries the Prussian, turning round, "*let me take this Frenchman*." "*Take him*," replies the Austrian; and, saying these words, he wheeled about, and rode off.

The following is a relation, attributed to Frederick, of the battle of Rosbach :

"The combined forces of the French army and that of the empire having pointed towards the Elbe, the king took
 "the

“ the resolution to quit Torgau, and to approach Leipfic
 “ by Eulenburg, where he arrived on the 26th of August
 “ with his whole army. On the 27th, the junction took
 “ place with the corps under prince Maurice of Anhalt, and
 “ on the 28th with that from Magdebourg, under prince
 “ Ferdinand of Brunswick.

“ On the 30th, his majesty marched towards Lutzen, and
 “ on the same day the enemy passed the Sala; but as they
 “ had left troops in Weissenfels, the king, at the head of his
 “ van-guard, advanced there upon the 31st. This town was
 “ abandoned with precipitation, and 300 of the troops of the
 “ circles, with some baggage, were taken. The French
 “ grenadiers disputed the bridge, and, at length, succeeded
 “ in burning it, in spite of all our efforts to prevent them.

“ The enemy’s dispositions from Naumbourg to a part of
 “ Halle, announced their intention of defending the Sala.

“ Marshal Keith, with the main body of the army, bore
 “ down on Mersebourg, to get possession of it; but he found
 “ the bridge cut, and the town occupied by 14 French bat-
 “ talions.

“ The bridge of Halle being, also, broken, and it being
 “ the king’s project to fight the combined army, marshal
 “ Keith was sent with a considerable detachment to repair
 “ it. As soon as the enemy were informed of this, they
 “ withdrew all their posts along the Sala, and fell back on
 “ Micheln.

“ From this moment we began to repair all the bridges,
 “ and passed the Sala at Mersebourg, Halle, and Weissenfels,
 “ in three columns, which united on the 3d near Rosbach.

“ The king, who, on the 2d, had reconnoitred the
 “ enemy’s position, and imagined he could attack them with
 “ advantage on their right flank, took the resolution of
 “ marching to them on the 4th, and every disposition was
 “ made in consequence.

“ But, during the night, he was informed that there was

“ a great movement in the enemy’s camp, and it was con-
“ jectured from their fires that they must have changed their
“ position, and they were even heard working at their aba-
“ tis. The king, before he took his resolution, wished to
“ reconnoitre them himself, and, between six and seven in
“ the morning, ascended an eminence with a body of eight
“ thousand men, preceded by the cavalry.

“ As soon as he had reconnoitred the new position of the
“ combined army, he deemed it inaccessible, and fell back
“ with his detachment. The enemy put some corps of ca-
“ valry and infantry in motion, with cannon; but their pur-
“ suit was so tardy, and so feeble, that they derived no ad-
“ vantage from it; besides that it was directed to a point
“ where we had nothing to apprehend. They cannonaded
“ some squadrons, but without effect.

“ The king’s army had passed the night at Bivac: having
“ marched during several days, and requiring repose, his
“ majesty permitted them to encamp. His project was to
“ rest on the 5th, and in the night between the 5th and 6th to
“ march to Silesia, where his presence was the more necessary,
“ as the Austrians began greatly to extend their progress in
“ that province. There was nothing more to fear with re-
“ spect to Saxony, the season being too far advanced, and the
“ enemy seeming by no means disposed to make a winter’s
“ campaign. Add to this, that the deserters reported that
“ provisions and subsistence were very scarce, and imagined
“ that their army must retreat the next day.

“ Though little faith is to be put in the reports of deser-
“ ters, the king ordered a detachment to take post towards
“ Bourgwerben, and observe what was passing in the ene-
“ my’s camp. The officer who commanded it, about ten
“ in the morning acquainted the king that he perceived the
“ enemy in motion, and at eleven that their camp was
“ broken up, and their army forming in order of battle:
“ and in fact, in half an hour, we saw a body of about

“ 6000

“6000 men, cavalry and infantry, appear upon the heights
“opposite to our front, and in a short time the whole army
“in full march by their right.

“The detachment sent to observe them fell back. The
“king was now persuaded of the retreat of the combined
“army. It was past twelve, yet he would not come to any
“resolution until he could positively ascertain the enemy’s
“project. For this purpose, he sent out a fresh reconnoitring
“party.

“About two in the afternoon, we discovered that the
“combined army were endeavouring to turn our left wing,
“and directing their march towards Mersebourg. Orders
“were instantly given to defend the camp, and to get under
“arms.

“All the troops marched off by their left; their move-
“ment was covered by an eminence, on which our hussars
“maintained themselves as long as this lasted. The bag-
“gage filed off by their right, and directed their course to-
“wards Halle.

“The knowledge of this general movement of the army,
“and especially of the cavalry, which the king, with the
“exception of about four squadrons, drew off entirely to the
“left, was concealed from the French. General Seidlitz,
“who commanded them, manœuvred ably, and with such
“celerity, that he reached the right flank of the enemy with-
“out being perceived, and consequently before they had a
“squadron formed in line of battle. The emperor’s cui-
“rassiers, and the cavalry of the empire, were overthrown
“and routed without any difficulty, and the whole French
“army met with a similar defeat, though they fought with
“great valour.

“The king was behind the regiment of Brunswick,
“which closed the left wing of the infantry. As soon as he
“saw the success of his cavalry well established, he ordered
“six battalions to march. They easily spread disorder in the

" right wing of the French infantry, which they took in
 " flank ; and, as this attack was supported by fifty-three
 " pieces of heavy cannon, which we had time to place ad-
 " vantageously, the confusion soon became general among
 " the enemy's cavalry. They abandoned forty pieces of
 " cannon, some baggage, the field of battle, 1300 killed,
 " 2200 prisoners, four pair of colours, and six standards.
 " The king's army pursued them as far as Bourgswerben, the
 " night not allowing the pursuit to be continued any fur-
 " ther.

" The king had left Meyer's corps, two battalions of
 " grenadiers and four squadrons of cavalry with cannon in
 " the village of Rosbach, between the right of the army and
 " this village, to observe the motions of the corps posted by
 " the French on the heights opposite to us ; but as soon as
 " they had begun to march after their army, all these troops,
 " except Meyer's corps, returned into the line.

" On the 6th, a detachment was passed over the Unstrut,
 " which bent its course towards Eckersberg, and joined the
 " army the 7th, having fallen in with no troops, and only
 " bringing a few prisoners."

Before the battle, the king made the following harrangue
 to his army :

" Friends,

" Behold the moment when every thing which is or ought
 " to be dear to us depends on our arms and on our conduct.
 " Time does not permit me to enter into a long discourse ;
 " nor is it necessary. You know that there is no difficulty,
 " no want, no cold, no watchings, no danger, however great,
 " which I have not shared with you, and you now see me
 " ready to lose my life with you, and for you. I demand
 " nothing from you but the reciprocal promise of fidelity and
 " attachment which I myself give you. I shall here add,
 " not to encourage you, but as a mark of my gratitude, that,

" from

“from this moment, your pay shall be doubled. Come on, my friends ! Courage and confidence in God !”

This discourse, pronounced with that enthusiastic and flattering tone which Frederick knew so well how to assume, inflamed the courage of all his soldiers. They replied only by shouts of approbation and of joy, and flew to the combat with a degree of heroic fury.

Never, perhaps, were the defects of the constitution of the empire more forcibly felt than at the battle of Rosbach. There was no order in the army of the circles. Each state of the empire is obliged, even in time of war, to furnish all the necessaries of life to its contingent, that is, to the troops it sends to the common army. Several regiments are composed of a number of these contingents of different states, each of which must have its own contractor, purveyor, convoys, bakehouses, hospitals, &c. Accordingly, the army never had regular magazines ; each purveyor had his house apart. Add to this, that they had neither bakers nor ovens, which obliged them to go into the villages, to bake in the ovens of the peasants : thus the soldier received his bread almost always badly made and unwholesome.

A single regiment, composed of the contingents of 10 or 12 states, was obliged to send to as many places for their bread. The waggons of the army were insufficient for these transports, and the peasants were forced to surrender their horses and carriages. In the same company, some soldiers had good bread, and others bad ; some enjoyed abundance, whilst the others were starving with hunger ; and these differences occasioned jealousy and confusion. The army never had bread at the same time ; that of one contingent arrived upon one day, and that of another sometimes three or four days after. The commander could never know, therefore, when his army had bread, whether they would have it the next day, and for how many days they might continue to have it. Hence it followed that he could never keep his motions a secret ;

a secret ; for, he who has ten or twelve men to nourish, ought to know where he shall get his provisions, as well as the man who must feed a thousand. In spite of this, the troops frequently wanted bread.

Another inconveniency which occasioned jealousy and disorder, was the unequal pay of the soldiers. They who received less than their comrades were discontented, and some of them, who were paid weekly, spent their eight days pay in one day, and were then obliged to rob and continue marauding for subsistence.

(86) The prince of Bevern wrote thus to the king :

“ I have the honour very humbly to inform your majesty, that, going out this morning, during a clear moon-light, to visit the advanced posts of our hussars, and reconnoitre the ground at day-break, I mistook my road, and, instead of proceeding to the right, which led to my quarters at Prottsch, I advanced to the left, towards Pransern, and fell in with an advanced post of Croats, whose fires I conceived to be those of our hussars. They took me prisoner, and conducted me to general Beck, &c.”

The prince, on this occasion, was attended by only one servant.

(87) This priest owed all his fortune to Frederick II. He was no more than a canon of Breslaw, when, in 1744, the king named him coadjutor of the bishop of Silesia, and, on count Sinzendorf's death, put him into the possession of the bishopric, in spite of the representations of the chapter, who knew him, and wished to have nothing to do with him. Not content with this, Frederick heaped favours on him, on every occasion ; he created him a prince, gave him the ribbon of the black eagle, and invited him almost every year to Berlin and Potsdam. The base manner in which he crouched at the feet of the victor, rendered him despised even by the Austrian general.

This

This wretch, equally discarded by both parties, found himself reduced to the last extremity. When, after the battle of Lissa, Frederick again became master of Silesia, he durst not appear in the presence of his benefactor, and abandoned the bishopric. He retired into a convent of Capuchin friars, from whence he tried to justify his conduct in a letter which he wrote to Frederick.

The following is the letter, with the king's answer :

Letter from Prince Schafgotsch, Bishop of Breslaw, to the King of Prussia.

“ Nicolibourg, 30th January, 1758.

“ SIRE,

“ The respectful attachment and fidelity I always observed, during the whole time I lived under your majesty's domination, had made me hope that I should constantly enjoy, to the end of my days, your good graces and protection, without the possibility of the existence of any sort of suspension, and that I should be entirely covered from any, on the part of your majesty, by a conduct at once cautious and wholly conformable to the gratitude I owe your majesty, and which I shall retain for you, Sire, during my whole life. I have, notwithstanding, had the extreme affliction to see, by a letter your majesty was pleased to write to me from Naumbourg, in Saxony, on the 22d of February, 1757, that I have not been able to avoid so unfortunate a destiny, and your majesty has even, since that time, given me marks of your displeasure, which deprive me of all hopes of being restored to your good graces.

“ The grief which these reflections and considerations have caused me, is so lively, that I was determined in my resolution to go to Rome, there to wait the termination of this war, in order to be removed from every situation similar to that which has hitherto drawn on me so much disgrace, not only on the part of your majesty, but likewise of the Imperial

“ perial court ; since, a few days after the surrender of Bres-
 “ law to the Austrian arms, I received an order, on the part
 “ of her majesty the empress-queen, by her commissioner
 “ count Kollowrath, to repair to Johansberg, there quietly
 “ to wait the conclusion of the war. But, seeing that the
 “ troubles were extending even there, I took the resolution
 “ to quit it, and go to Rome, as the only part left me to take
 “ in the embarrassment in which I found myself ; and, as
 “ neither my health, nor the rigour of the season, added to
 “ the derangement of my domestic affairs, permitted me im-
 “ mediately to perform this journey, I have taken up my re-
 “ sidence, in the interim, in the convent of the Capuchin
 “ fathers of Nicolsbourg, where my continued retreat
 “ amongst these good people, who have the established repu-
 “ tation of an indifference to the affairs of this world, will
 “ shelter me, I hope, from every subject of suspicion on the
 “ part of your majesty.

“ As I find myself at present in a situation to undertake
 “ this journey, I would not fail to inform your majesty of it,
 “ supplicating you to be persuaded, that nothing but the mis-
 “ fortune of having incurred your majesty’s displeasure would
 “ have induced me to take this step. Remote as I shall be
 “ from your majesty, I shall always preserve that faithful and
 “ inviolable gratitude I owe you, as well as the most respect-
 “ ful submission with which I have the honour to subscribe
 “ myself,

“ Your majesty’s most humble, most faithful,

“ And most submissive subject,

“ THE BISHOP OF BRESLAW.”

Answer of the King of Prussia.

“ Breslaw, 15th February, 1758.

“ PRINCE BISHOP OF BRESLAW,

“ I have received your letter of the 30th of January, with
 “ the contents of which I might have had reason to be sur-
 “ prised,

"prised, had I not been prepared for it by the ingratitude of
 "your past conduct. At the moment that I was advancing
 "with my army to stop the progress of my enemies, and to
 "deliver Silesia, you form the design of quitting this pro-
 "vince, which ought to have recalled to your mind the re-
 "membrance of my bounty. You chuse for your retreat the
 "moment of my approach to Breslaw, the moment in which
 "Heaven grants to my just arms the most brilliant successes.
 "Press'd by the remorse of your own conscience, and feeling
 "yourself already culpable, you put yourself under the pro-
 "tection of another power, with whom I am in open and de-
 "clared war, and you have now the presumption, yourself,
 "to announce to me the resolution you have taken, colour-
 "ing it with the most frivolous pretexts, and adding the false
 "protestations of a fidelity which you have betrayed in the
 "most essential points. After such abominable proceedings,
 "I can no longer consider you in any other light than that
 "of a traitor, who has gone over to the enemy, and volun-
 "tarily abandoned a post to which the single consideration
 "of the duties of your profession should have attached you;
 "and nothing remains for me, on my side, but to take such
 "measures as shall appear adviseable, and abandon you to
 "your fate, thoroughly persuaded that so unpardonable a
 "conduct will infallibly receive the punishment it deserves,
 "and that you will neither be able to escape divine vengeance,
 "nor the contempt of mankind, who, corrupt as they may
 "be, are not still so far gone in corruption, as not to hold in
 "abhorrence treachery and ingratitude.

"FREDERICK."

During the war of seven years, this bishop still lived un-
 known in foreign countries. In 1767, long after the peace,
 he returned and settled at Mount St. John, on the frontiers
 of Silesia.

Frederick was sincerely attached to this bishop: he never
 forgot

forgot his perfidy and ingratitude, and frequently repeated that he did not believe any man could have been capable of such turpitude. This stroke greatly contributed to render Frederick more diffident. Thus it is that a single instance of villainy sometimes suffices to change a soul which nature designed for the participation of the delights of friendship and of confidence !

(88) The evening before the battle, the king directed all the chiefs of battalions, squadrons, and companies of his army, to come into his presence, and thus addressed them :

“ Gentlemen !

“ To-morrow I shall attack the enemy. As the success of the campaign depends on this day, which will decide to whom Silesia is to belong, I have sent for you, to tell you, that I make no doubt but that every one of you will do his duty well, and second me with all his power.

“ I expect that each officer, at his post, will pay the greatest attention to the command, and give the soldiers under him the example of intrepidity; in a word, that each of you will advance against the enemy with the firm resolution *to conquer or to die*. If you think like me, all of you without exception, I am sure of victory.

“ I know wherein consists the strength and the weakness of the enemy, and I shall so conduct all the corps as to enable them to persevere in the attack with advantage. It will depend, therefore, on yourselves alone to fight with courage, and give proofs of the ancient Prussian bravery which animated your ancestors.

“ Let the man amongst you, who hesitates to sacrifice his life and his blood, retire from this moment, that he may not infect others with his timidity. Let him advance, I will grant him his dismissal without difficulty and without reproach.”

Here

Here major-general Rhor could not contain his tears. The king, perceiving it, embraced him, saying, "*My dear Robr, there is no question here of you.*"

This discourse was listened to with silence and general attention.

When the king had pronounced the last words, there was a momentary silence, after which, one of the staff officers cried out, in the name of all, and, amidst the utmost fervor of enthusiasm and love, "*None but a coward can hesitate. We are all ready to sacrifice our lives for your majesty.*"

Then the king thus continued his discourse, with an air of satisfaction and tranquillity :

"I see that there is no man here who is not inflamed with an heroic courage ; but I shall strictly remark those who may be wanting to their promise or their duty. I shall be in the front, and in the rear, of my army ; I shall fly from one wing to the other ; not a squadron, not a company, shall escape my sight. I shall observe you with a most attentive eye. On those who shall do their duty I will lavish favours and rewards, and never will I forget them. But should any one dishonour himself in any way, let him take care how he comes into my sight."

After the action, he cast his eyes with a mournful air upon the field of battle strewn with dead ; tears flowed down his cheeks, and, after a moment's silence, he exclaimed, in a deeply afflicted tone, "*When will my sorrows cease !*"

Whilst Frederick, with his van, was pushing a detached corps of the enemy, in front of his position, one of his grenadiers was brought to him, who had deserted two days before. "*Why didst thou quit me ?*" observed the king. "*Faith, Sire,*" replies the grenadier, who was a Frenchman, "*our affairs are in too bad a way.*" "*Well, well,*" answered Frederick : "*let us fight again to-day ; if I am beaten, we will desert together to-morrow.*" With these words he sent him back to his colours.

The

The king, being at Liffa, was told of many contemptuous expressions of the Austrians respecting his army; to which he answered, "*I pardon them the foolish things they may have said, in return for those which they have just done.*"

(89) During the siege gibbets were prepared in the town to hang up on the spot whoever should talk of surrendering. When the council of war was holden, and the greatest part of them were inclined to capitulate, general Beck opened the window, pointed to the gibbets, declared he would not surrender, and gave his advice for the garrison to sally out, and force their way through the besiegers. His counsels, however, did not prevail; but the king, who was informed of all these particulars, testified great respect for this general.

The prince of Bevern had been blamed for leaving too weak a garrison in Breslaw, that place having been obliged soon after to surrender; prince Charles was now condemned for throwing a whole army into that city, which he must imagine would soon be retaken. Such is the fate of generals: the public never judge of their enterprizes but by the event. But, on the other hand, we as frequently attribute to their talents what is only the result of good fortune.

(90) *Letter from the King of Prussia to the Empress-Queen, after the Taking of Breslaw.*

"Madam, and very dear and honoured Cousin,

"I write you this letter greatly out of season; for, you have every cause in the world to be irritated against me; but it is impossible for me to extinguish the real esteem I bear a princess of such rare merit. At the death of your late father, I was a stranger to your talents, but our near relationship, and the perils to which you were exposed, made me resolve to offer you my friendship. If I were more gallant, I should say that the rumour of your beauty had inspired me. It is true that your minister was frightened

“at my demand of two duchies; but, on a candid examina-
“tion, I imagine the public will acknowledge my preten-
“sions not to have been unjust, and experience will have
“convinced you of the sincerity of my sentiments. The
“contempt with which you have treated them provoked
“me, and I joined your enemies. Fortune, and the bad dis-
“positions you made, afforded me rapid victories, and you
“ceded me more than I dared to hope for. I determined,
“therefore, seeing your generosity, to become your real
“friend. You have seen how I left the Saxons in Mo-
“ravia, and how I abandoned the French. After gaining
“the battle of Czaſlaw, I flattered myself with the hopes of
“recovering your friendship; but, I know not how it is,
“you suffered yourself to be drawn in to form a fresh alliance
“with Saxony, to disturb me in my winter quarters. This
“coſt Saxony dear by the capture of Dresden, after the bat-
“tle of Keſſelsdorf, and I was ſtill in a condition to purſue
“your army; but you ſent me the ſage and enlightened count
“Harrach, who ſoon made me accept propoſitions of peace.
“I counted on the guaranty of England, to remain the
“undisturbed poſſeſſor of what you had ceded me, and only
“waited for the moment to manifeſt to you my friendship.

“I allow that the alliances you ſince made with Saxony
“and Ruſſia gave me to underſtand that you were ſtill not
“without diffidence reſpecting me. Circumſtances of no
“great weight which have occurred here and there, have
“contributed to the increaſe of your ſuſpicions; but, be-
“lieve me, my dear couſin, the perſons who have animated
“you againſt me had their private views, and ſtrove to con-
“duct you to your ruin. The war between France and
“England concerned neither you nor me; but when France
“publicly diſcovered her intention of invading the electo-
“rate of Hanover, and as it was decided that this elector had
“no longer any room to hope for ſuccour from you, or from
“the chief of the empire, it was but juſt that he ſhould ad-

“ dress himself to me as a co-electer. I found his demand
 “ reasonable ; but, foreseeing that this measure might give
 “ you umbrage, I informed you of it by my minister Klin-
 “ græff, requiring assurances of your undertaking no hostile
 “ measure against my dominions. Your word alone would
 “ have sufficed, which ought to have convinced you of my
 “ sincerity, for I was not ignorant of the alliance you had
 “ made with France ; but your answers were so equivocal,
 “ and the preparations making by you, and in Saxony, such
 “ as to apprise me that the confidence you placed in your
 “ allies flattered you with success. I anticipated this cru-
 “ el design, and even entertained hopes of persuading the
 “ Saxons not to sacrifice themselves to my just indignation ;
 “ but finding an unexpected resistance, I made them pay for
 “ that resistance at a dear price. In 1757, my victorious
 “ arms endangered the capital of Bohemia, where I have
 “ left melancholy traces ; and, but for the battle of the 18th
 “ of June, in which fortune was unfavourable, I should
 “ perhaps have had the opportunity of paying you a visit.
 “ It is possible, that, contrary to my natural disposition, your
 “ beauty and magnanimity might have vanquished the victor,
 “ and means of accommodation would have arisen : for, if
 “ you had given me an equivalent, as it seems you readily will
 “ to allies who do not assist you, I could have ceded to you
 “ Silesia, and armed you for ever against the house of Bour-
 “ bon ; but, in fine, having failed here, I turned my forces
 “ against the French and the army of the empire, who did not
 “ long resist me. The king of Poland paid dear for his firmi-
 “ ness, and you had some advantages in Silesia ; but this
 “ glory was not of long duration, and the slaughter in the
 “ last battle made me shudder. I profited by my advantage,
 “ and retook Breslaw, which threw a number of prisoners
 “ into my hands, and some even of a very distinguished
 “ rank. At Lignitz I proved that I am not so great a tyrant
 “ as I have been represented ; and I hope that Schweidnitz
 “ will

" will also return into my power, so as to enable me to in-
 " vade Bohemia and Moravia. Reflect on this, my dear
 " cousin; learn to know those in whom you put a confi-
 " dence. You will see that you ruin your country; that you
 " make rivers of blood flow, and do not know how to con-
 " quer him, who, if you had him for your friend, as he is
 " your near relation, conjointly with you, would have made
 " all the world tremble. I write this from the bottom of
 " my heart, and wish it may make the desired impressi-
 " on on you; but if you are determined to drive points to extre-
 " mities, I shall attempt every enterprize within the power
 " of my forces to accomplish. I do assure you, however,
 " that it is with regret I shall see a princess perish, who
 " merits the admiration of all the world. But if your allies
 " assist you, as it is their duty to do, I foresee that I must pe-
 " rish; but it will be without disgrace, and it will ever
 " prove a source of glory for me in history, to have endea-
 " voured to save a co-elect-
 " tor from oppression, not to have
 " contributed to the power of the house of Bourbon, and to
 " have resisted two empresses, and three kings: with which I
 " conclude, subscribing myself your very humble admirer and
 " sincere friend,

" FREDERICK."

(91) The manner in which the Swedish troops conducted
 themselves in this war, shews how the national bravery may
 disappear from amongst a whole people, or, rather, how far
 the warlike spirit of a nation depends on the sovereign who
 governs it. The following anecdote is attested by all the in-
 habitants of the country. The Swedes, being masters of the
 Ukrain Marche, sent one night a foraging party into a baili-
 wic, situated on the road to Berlin. Four or five postillions,
 disguised like hussars, issued out of a little wood in which
 they were concealed, and fired a few shot. The Swedes im-
 mediately wheeled about, and went off upon the full gallop.

Having recounted their adventure to their comrades, the whole corps imagined that the Prussian army were at hand, and the next day abandoned the Ukraïn Marche. A Swedish senator wrote on this occasion to one of his friends, "*Our Swedes entered the enemy's country like foxes, and quitted it like hares.*"

(92) The town cannot have greatly suffered, for the damage was only estimated at 16,109 crowns, 5 kreutzers; a loss which the empress reimbursed the citizens. It is probable, however, that the principal inhabitants did not find this indemnification sufficient, for they were recompensed by distinctions and marks of honour. The empress gave the town a crown of laurels, in addition to its arms; all the counsellors, from the first to the last, were ennobled. It is very fortunate for sovereigns, that vanity and certain prejudices have always so much influence on the multitude!

(93) The commandant, trying to excuse himself to the king, the latter replied, "*I do not blame you, but myself, who gave you the command.*"

(94) In 1630, Gustavus-Adolphus, having advanced with 1000 soldiers and 4 cannon to Berlin, and demanded for his security the fortresses of Custrin and Spandau, the elector George-William deliberated some time with his ministers; the latter, full of trouble and consternation, perpetually repeating to the elector, "*But, what is to be done, your highness? they have cannon.*" After a long consultation, the king of Sweden was invited to Berlin. Gustavus-Adolphus entered this capital with all his retinue. Two hundred Swedes mounted guard at the palace, &c.—[See *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg.*]

(95) Two days before the battle of Zorndorf, the following letter was written from Frankfort on the Oder :

"The

"The king arrived here yesterday. He traversed the
 "town at the head of his troops, and the cavalry followed
 "him sabre in hand. No person knew whether he would
 "stop here, or proceed further. The king, on coming
 "opposite to the house of a clergyman's widow, suddenly
 "cried, "*Halt!*" He sent his aide-de-camp to this woman,
 "to inform her that he intended lodging in her house. The
 "widow immediately appeared, and excused herself, saying
 "that her chambers were too small, and in too bad order,
 "to receive so great a king. This woman had fallen on her
 "knees; the king graciously raised her up, telling her to give
 "him the best room she had. After this, the king entered
 "the house, but quitted it the next moment; and, standing
 "on the front steps, cried out, "*March!*" Whilst the troops
 "were filing before the king, the firing of the cannon
 "against Custrin was distinctly heard. At every shot, I
 "remarked that the king took a pinch of snuff, and, through
 "that air of intrepidity which never abandoned him, a sen-
 "timent of compassion penetrated for the fate of that un-
 "happy town, and an anxious impatience to fly to its relief.
 "As soon as the troops were in quarters, the king ate some
 "soup with the prince of Anhalt and general Seidlitz; af-
 "ter which orders were given for the march upon the day
 "following. But, in two hours, a spy brought us other
 "news, and we marched at two in the morning. Until
 "that time the king remained in his chamber with his two
 "generals, and continued writing without intermission. At
 "two, he got on horseback, &c."

The following anecdote the author received from a man of letters then in the king's suit:

"On the evening before the battle of Zorndorf, his ma-
 "jesty sent for me at six o'clock. On my arrival, I found
 "the king employed on the alteration of three strophes of
 "an ode of J. J. Rousseau, which did not please him. He

“ finished this little essay at eight. I begged his majesty to
 “ give it to me, with which he was so good as to comply.”

To correct an ode of Rousseau, and to wish to appear occupied with making verses, the evening before a battle, has rather the air of affectation, and forms a shade in the portrait of this great man.

On the 23d of August, the day before this battle, Frederick having passed the Oder, his hussars brought him ten or twelve Cossacks whom they had taken prisoners. The dress and air of these men were rather novel and extraordinary for the king. He considered them attentively, then said to major Wedel, who was near him, “ *Look at the wretches with whom I am obliged to fight !*”

(96) An extract of the narrative of Arenfeld, a Swedish major, who was with the Russian army that day, will render this difference comprehensible. “ The loss of the Russians,” he observes, “ amounted to 21,529 men ; but our second
 “ line did not kill fewer Russians than the Prussian fire. On
 “ the right wing, the distance between the first and second
 “ line was more than 2000 paces ; so that the troops of the
 “ second line, unable amidst the smoke and dust to distinguish their comrades of the first, who were repulsed by the
 “ enemy, mistook them for Prussians, and fired on them.
 “ Till then, the Russian soldiers had stood, without flinching,
 “ the terrible fire of the enemy’s batteries ; but, in retreating, they quitted their ranks, threw themselves amidst the
 “ waggons in the intervals of the lines, emptied all the
 “ brandy casks, then fired, and continued attacking whatsoever came near them. The left wing might have repaired this disorder, but they disbanded in the same way....
 “ In general, the fire of the Russian infantry must have
 “ killed very few Prussians. They advanced against us in
 “ covered columns, and we frequently did not perceive them

“ till

"till they were upon us. Our fire was too high. If the king of Prussia had not previously burnt the bridges in our rear, his victory would have been more complete. We had no other resource but to remain, &c."

(97) After the battle, Mitchel, the English envoy, in complimenting the king, said, "*Sire, Heaven has given your majesty a glorious victory to-day.*" "True," replied Frederick; "*but without Seidlitz we should not have been much at our ease.*" "I name Heaven always at the head of our allies," continued the envoy, "*as we have no other without a subsidy.*"

(98) The king amused himself greatly with this present of the pope, and ever after called Daun *the pope's blessed general*. This may be seen particularly in one of his letters to Fouquet, the 22d April, 1759.

Field-marshal Keith found nothing so very holy in these massacres of Christian nations. Some time before, on hearing of the carnage and devastations they were committing in Europe, he exclaimed, "*It must be allowed that these Christians are a sad race!*"

The death of this general was one of the losses which the king felt most sensibly in this battle. Keith united military merit with a philosophical and cultivated mind. He and my lord marshal his brother were of the small number of select men in whose society Frederick reposed from his labours. This prince erected a fine statue to him in one of the public squares of Berlin.

After the battle, Frederick assembled his generals, and spoke thus to them: "Gentlemen, you know that the army has been surprised. This was occasioned by the obscurity of the night. But, reflect where we are at present. We are now in Upper Lusatia. We have behind us our fortunes, our wives, and children. If we are again obliged to

“ give way, all is lost. We cannot avoid soon having
 “ another battle. As for myself, I will have my whole army
 “ buried with me rather than recede. I imagine that every one
 “ of you is of the same mind. If any one amongst you be of
 “ a different sentiment, let him speak out, and return home.”
 Here the king paused; and, after a moment’s silence, some
 of the generals assured him that they were ready with joy to
 do their duty, as they had always executed it hitherto. At
 this assurance satisfaction glowed on the countenance of Fre-
 derick.

(99) In a representation of the court of Saxony to the diet
 at Ratisbon, they complained, amongst other grievances, that
 the royal family, in entering the apartments of the palace,
 were obliged to smell the smoke of the Prussian soldiers to-
 bacco.

(100) When Frederick sent general Wedel, who was then
 one of the youngest lieutenant-generals of his army, to re-
 place Dohna, he wrote the following letter :

“ My dear lieutenant-general count Dohna,

“ The circumstances of the army you command, the wel-
 “ fare and advantage of my states, and urgent necessity, en-
 “ gage me to address the following order to you, and to my
 “ army, and my will is that it should be literally executed.

“ As the present circumstances prevent me from repairing
 “ in person to take the command of count Dohna’s army, I
 “ send general Wedel with my express orders on the subject.
 “ As long as he shall be invested with this commission, he is
 “ wholly to represent my person; and all the generals, lieu-
 “ tenant-generals, major-generals, and other officers, down
 “ to the common soldier, are to obey him as if I myself were
 “ present. I have seriously enjoined him to put under instant
 “ arrest whosoever shall disobey him, and not execute all of

“ his

“his directions. And I take upon me to have such refractory persons, if any there be found, judged by a council of war, as acting contrary to subordination and their oaths. And, that the whole army may be informed of my present will, every point above declared shall be given out in public orders. General Wedel shall represent what a dictator represented in the Roman armies. Therefore, all officers whatsoever, of whatever rank and condition, shall be bound to render him the obedience due to me, and to execute his dispositions with fidelity, exactness, and bravery. I am, &c.

“At the camp of Schmotheissen, 20th June, 1759.

“FREDERICK.”

Below was written, in French, in the king's own hand :

“You are too ill to continue the command. You will do well to get yourself conveyed to Berlin, or to some place where you may recover your health. Adieu.

“FREDERICK.”

(101) In the number of the wounded was major Kleist, one of the best poets in Germany. He had aided with his battalion in carrying three batteries of the enemy. His right hand was shattered by a shot, but this accident did not repress the ardour of his activity. He grasped his sword in his left hand, and led on his troop to a fourth battery, from which he was only thirty paces off when stricken down by a musket ball. Some of the soldiers carried him off the field of battle, but were soon obliged to quit him. The Cossacks stripped him of every thing, even to his shirt. Some other enemies passing that way supplied him with an old cloak and a piece of bread, and one of them gave him a piece of money of eight gros. He remained thus without succour until the next day, when a Russian officer directed that he should be conveyed to Frankfort, where he died of his wounds a few days after

after his arrival. The Russian garrison buried him with all the honours of war. As they had no Prussian sword to place upon his coffin, a Russian staff-officer, by presenting his own, contributed to this part of the funeral ceremony. The university, in a body, attended his remains to the grave. He had remarked, in one of his odes,

“I, for my country, may, at length, expire!”

(102) At present travellers discover no other traces of these disasters than the towns and villages reared up by Frederick in the space of 20 years in places distinguished only by their heaps of ashes.

The Russians ravaged, amongst others, the estates of the count of Cosel, situated on the banks of the Oder. The count wrote a voluminous letter to the king, complaining of the loss he had sustained. Frederick answered him, “We have to do with barbarians, who labour at the destruction of the human race. You see, my dear count, that I am more occupied in repairing the evil than in complaining of it. I advise you to do the same, and am, &c.”

(103) The dragoon regiment of Platen, which distinguished itself in this action, had permission to beat the grenadiers march; and this distinction was deemed an ample recompense by the regiment. The staff-officers and captains were rewarded with crosses of the order of merit.

(104) The Austrians make the prisoners amount to 14,000, and the Prussians only state them at 10,000 men. We cannot be far wrong, therefore, in taking the mean number of 12,000.

(105) The king had placed this corps near Meissen, on the right bank of the Elbe. It was commanded by major-general Dierke, and destined only to observe whether the enemy sent

any

any detachment on that side towards Torgau or Berlin. Dawn directed the attack to be made against this corps on the 3d of December, by a more considerable body under general Beck. This troop pressed Dierke's corps, who defended themselves 24 hours, but, being, at length, surrounded on all sides, were forced to surrender.

(106) Even in the midst of war the king every day dedicated some hours to music; he played either some of Quantz's concertos, or those of his own composition.

(107) *Letter to King Stanislaus.*

“Freyberg, 8 February, 1760.

“BROTHER,

“Your majesty's letter gave me the most sensible pleasure,
 “and I should not have refused the proposal you are pleased
 “to make me respecting your residence. All negotiations
 “commenced under your auspices, would, certainly, have a
 “happy and favourable issue; but your majesty will have al-
 “ready learnt, perhaps, that all have not the same pacific
 “sentiments. The courts of Vienna and Russia oppose, in
 “the most unheard-of manner, the propositions made by the
 “king of Great Britain; and it seems as if the king of France
 “would suffer himself also to be led into the continuation
 “of a war, from which they alone expect to obtain all the
 “advantage; and, accordingly, they alone will have to an-
 “swer for all the blood about to be spilt in consequence of
 “their refusal. In the mean time, I am infinitely obliged to
 “your majesty for the kind offers you have made. If all
 “powers were as pacific, as equitable, and as just as you are,
 “the earth would not be, as it is, a prey to ravages, devas-
 “tations, fire, and sword.

“I am, with sentiments of the greatest esteem and the
 “sincerest friendship,

“Brother,

“Your majesty's faithful brother,

“FREDERICK.”

(108) Who

(108) Who would have imagined that the son of this very Brühl, who did so much injury to the Prussian nation, should, one day, be entrusted with the education of the heir to the throne of Prussia? Frederick-William II. has shewn, by making choice of count Brühl for governor of the hereditary prince, that he does not impute to the son the evil done by the father to the Prussians; a way of thinking truly noble.

(108*) This may be seen in the letter which the king wrote to the marquis d'Argens, after the battle of Lignitz. He there speaks of the duke de Choiseul in such a way as to prove that he hated this minister no less than the minister hated him.

(109) The Jew Ephraim was entrusted, at this time, with all these operations. This Jew is made to speak as follows, in a pamphlet which appeared in 1758, intitled, *Ephraim justified*, &c. "It was from assurances twenty times repeated in the most flattering terms, that I threw myself headlong, but, with my eyes wide open, into the affairs of Saxony. The signature of *Friderick with a flourish* established me a fraudulent bidder at the sales of the rich magazines at Dresden and at Meissen, to get them knocked down at a low price, and to sell them in retail at 200 per cent. profit. *Friderick with a flourish* authorized me to make a free appropriation of the public funds, the sale of which was to complete the contribution of Leipzig. *Friderick with a flourish* constituted me a false public coiner, to glean in Saxony, by this last operation, all the gold and silver which had escaped the others"!!

(110) The king had a particular esteem for general Fouquet, with whom he maintained a constant correspondence. We shall introduce some of the letters at the end of this volume.

(111) It

(III) It has been remarked, that this siege, which lasted but a short time, destroyed the handsomest man of the king's army, the handsomest woman and the finest edifice in Breslaw. The first was the file-man of the regiment of guards, the most beautiful woman a young lady called Müller, and the finest edifice was the palace of prince Hatzfeld.

When the king went to Breslaw after this event, the Capuchin friars waited on him to pay their compliments, and boasted, in order to obtain alms, that they had laboured greatly in extinguishing the fire when his house was burning. "*Truly, fathers,*" replied the king, "*you must have toiled extremely, for my house is burnt.*"

(112) The following is what the marquis de Montalembert wrote the duke de Choiseul on this subject, from the Russian army which he accompanied :

"Camp of Kainowa, 18 August, 1760.

"The certainty we had yesterday of the king's march towards Breslaw, although there was no account of his having passed by Neumarck, and, above all, our total ignorance of the position of the Austrian armies, as well as the designs of their generals, determined yesterday evening the march of this army for to-day, and it was resolved to proceed thus far. This position, though more remote than it ought to have been in the first instance, would not, however, be less favourable to subsequent operations, if a proper confidence prevailed. But, since the king's junction with prince Henry, I do not imagine we can any longer flatter ourselves that the Russians will take a part in this affair. All their generals are equally convinced, that the propositions which may be made them, to establish a plan in concert with the Austrians, will only tend to expose them singly to all the efforts of the two armies now united : insomuch that, without listening to those who go so far as to say that

"they

“ they have been drawn here to be sacrificed, it is impossible
 “ not to admit, with the most moderate, that the operations
 “ are by no means such as were agreed upon. The Russian
 “ army, of about 70,000 men, united to M. Laudohn’s ar-
 “ my, estimated at least at 30,000, ought to have acted against
 “ prince Henry, and taken Breslaw, whatever obstacle that
 “ prince might have thrown in the way, marshal Daun hav-
 “ ing been always supposed stronger than was necessary to
 “ retain the king in Saxony or Lusatia. It was on these con-
 “ ditions they consented to march towards Breslaw. In that
 “ case, whatever might have happened, that is to say, even
 “ should the Austrians have abandoned them for some other
 “ project, they would only have felt the necessity of opposing
 “ thirty or forty thousand men under prince Henry, and
 “ their superiority over him would have rendered their suc-
 “ cess almost certain. But, in the present situation, should
 “ they be even joined by marshal Daun, generals Laudohn,
 “ Lascei, and Beck, in short, by all the Austrian forces, they
 “ can never be convinced but that they may have the two
 “ Prussian armies singly to engage; especially since the ex-
 “ ample they have had of Laudohn’s army, which neither
 “ Daun nor Lascei, it is said, were able to succour, notwith-
 “ standing the most precise manœuvres, and though the ob-
 “ ject was to assist troops belonging to the same sovereign.
 “ Not that I by any means approve such extreme circum-
 “ spection. I am, here, repeating from morning till night,
 “ that general Daun’s inaction can only be attributed to a
 “ local impossibility, which happens too rarely in war to give
 “ any cause to apprehend that the same situation is again
 “ likely to occur. But I perceive that I do not persuade
 “ them. What part, then, must be adopted, and what enter-
 “ prizes undertaken with this fine and numerous army, if the
 “ concerted plan of the campaign no longer can take place,
 “ and if the Russians will no longer act seriously in this bu-
 “ siness?

"sineſs ? I dare propoſe nothing, ignorant as I am of the intentions of the court of Vienna. I have conſulted Mr. Blonquet, and he is in the ſame ſituation.

"We both of us, however, very clearly perceive, that it would be loſt time to propoſe to them to return to the ſame operations. They may, poſſibly, indeed, make the promiſe on certain conditions ; but they will not want pretexts to elude the execution of it. Theſe are circumſtances which courts at a diſtance cannot perceive, but of which I think I am very certain. If the Ruſſians, however, remain in inaction, in ſpite of all the promiſes they may have given to the contrary, the two armies of the king and of prince Henry will be able to oppoſe all the enterprizes which may be formed for the remainder of the campaign. I am, &c."

(113) The danger was the more preſſing, as general Reid had taken eight boats laden with corn and warlike ſtores between Meiſſen and Reiſa, which were coming from Magdebourg by the Elbe, and as a detachment from Freyberg was threatening the rear of the Pruſſian army.

(114 and 115) The king marched in two columns, and wiſhed to gain the paſſage of Schwarzwaſſer, and the heights of Pfaffendorf, without being diſcovered by the enemy. He had alighted from his horſe at a league's diſtance from the Katzbach, and the army were taking a little repoſe. Frederick, in the miſt of the grenadiers of Ratenau, lay ſtretched out by the ſide of a fire, wrapped up in his cloak, and in a ſlight ſlumber, and major-general Schenkendorf was occupied in ſtirring the fire, when, at two in the morning, major de Hundt ran up and exclaimed, "*Where is the king ?*" Schenkendorf pointed to his ſovereign, who was already awakened by this noiſe. "*What is the matter ? What is the matter ?*" ſaid Frederick. "*Ab ! fire !*" answered the major, "*the*
" enemy's

"*enemy's forces are here; they have already driven in all my posts of observation.*" "*Keep them back as long as you can,*" replied the king, and instantly cried out, "*My horse!*" He mounted, the army formed, and Laudohn found them in good order.

(1116) Maria-Theresa wrote to general Laudohn: "Though the 15th of August be an unfortunate day for me, I cannot but do justice to the exactness with which you acquitted yourself of the commission that was given you, as well as to your courage and prudence; and you may be assured, on my word, that I shall remember these as titles to my favour."

A letter still more remarkable is the following from the king of Prussia to the marquis d'Argens:

"Formerly, my dear marquis, the affair of the 15th of August would have decided the campaign; at present this action is but a scratch. We must have a great battle to terminate our destiny; and this, according to all appearances, will be very shortly, when we may rejoice should the event prove favourable. I thank you for the sincere part you take in this advantage. Much artifice and no small address were necessary to bring matters to this point. Talk not to me of dangers; the last affair only cost me a coat and a horse, which is purchasing victory at a cheap rate.

"I have not received the letter you speak of; we are in a manner blocked up respecting correspondence, by the Russians on one side of the Oder, and on the other by the Austrians. A little engagement was necessary even for the purpose of dispatching away the light-horseman, who, I hope, has, by this time, delivered to you my letter.

"Never have I been in so disagreeable a situation as in this campaign. Believe me, I stand in need of miracles to enable me to surmount all the difficulties I see before me.

"I do

"I do my duty not unskilfully when the occasion offers; but
"never forget, my dear marquis, that I do not dispose of for-
"tune, and that in my projects I am obliged to leave too
"much to chance for want of means to render them more
"solid. Mine are the labours of Hercules, which I must
"perform at an age when strength is forsaking me, in which
"my infirmities increase, and, to speak the truth, when
"hope, the last consolation of the wretched, begins to fail
"me. You are not sufficiently acquainted with affairs to
"form an accurate idea of all the dangers with which the
"state is threatened; I know and conceal them. I reserve
"all the apprehensions for myself, and communicate no-
"thing to the public but hopes and the little good news I
"have to give them. If the blow I am now meditating suc-
"ceeds, then, my dear marquis, will be the time to give our-
"selves up to joy; but, until then, let us not flatter our-
"selves, lest we should be too much depressed by some unex-
"pected ill news.

"Here I lead the life of a military Carthusian. My affairs
"furnish me with much to think of, and the rest of my
"time I dedicate to letters, which form my consolation, as
"they did those of the consul, the father of his country and
"of eloquence. I do not know whether I shall survive this
"war, but I am thoroughly resolved, should that happen, to
"spend the remainder of my days in retirement, in the bosom
"of philosophy and friendship.

"As soon as the correspondence is more open, you will
"give me pleasure in writing to me often. I do not know
"where we shall take up our winter-quarters; our houses
"were destroyed in the bombardment of Breslaw; our ene-
"mies seem to envy us even day-light and the air we breathe.
"They must, however, leave us a spot, and, if it be a safe
"one, I anticipate the pleasure of receiving you.

"Well! my dear marquis, what becomes of the peace with
"France! You see that your nation is blinder than you

" imagined. These madmen are losing Canada and Pondi.
 " cherry, to please the queen and the Czarina. Heaven grant
 " that prince Ferdinand may pay them handsomely for their
 " zeal! The officers, guiltless of all these miseries, and the
 " poor soldiers, will be the unhappy victims of this policy, and
 " the illustrious criminals will escape. This moment am I
 " interrupted by business. I was in a writing mood; but I
 " see that I must finish, that I may neither weary you nor
 " be deficient in my duty. Adieu, my dear marquis; I em-
 " brace you.

" FREDERICK."

We give this letter as printed in those editions of the phi-
 losopher of *Sans-Souci* with which we are acquainted;
 but the following passage is there cancelled: "*I am not*
 "*ignorant of a particular procedure in the duke de Choiseul, and*
 "*I will relate it to you when we meet. Never did a stronger*
 "*mark of inconsistent frenzy disgrace France since the admini-*
 "*stration of the affairs of that monarchy have been entrusted to a*
 "*minister.*" We have brought forward this quotation, not
 only as it paints the king's hatred against this minister, but
 because it shews on what trifling circumstances the destiny
 of nations frequently depends. In other respects, reproaches
 uttered or written, under similar circumstances, by adverse
 parties, dishonour no person; yet, still it is proper to report
 them, as they present us with a picture of mankind.

This letter was intercepted by some Cossacks in Silesia,
 and carried to the Russian head-quarters. Soltikoff shewed
 it to the marquis de Montalembert, who sent a copy of it to
 the duke; a method by no means calculated for the purpose
 of conciliating the parties.

Some time after this battle, the king, conversing with
 Mitchel, the English envoy, the subject of discourse was
 Providence, and its influence over human affairs. As the
 king did not always entertain the same opinion with this
 envoy,

envoy, the latter said to him, "Let not your majesty entertain a doubt of this nature. Providence regulates all the events of this world; and I have remarked, that, whenever it is preparing something great, it makes use of your majesty as the instrument."

(117) The king had two medals struck on this occasion, and sent a certain number of them, in gold and silver, to Werner and Heyden, with flattering letters. Two other officers were rewarded with the order of merit, and Werner had besides a canonry of Minden bestowed on him, which produced 2000 crowns. Ramler, whom the Germans call their Horace, was born at Colberg. He has celebrated this action in an ode greatly esteemed.

(118) The marquis writes thus to the comte de Choiseul, ambassador at Vienna: "I can as safely assure your excellency, as if I were in the presence of God, that, if I had not formally opposed the retreat towards Cœpnick, the situation of our affairs would be very different; and I have certainly good reason to applaud myself for the resolution I took of attaching myself to count Czernicheff's vanguard in this expedition."

Lettres de Montalembert. Campagne, 1760.

(119) At Potzdam the works of art found a protector in Esterhasi, the Austrian general. He maintained the most rigid discipline, and did not permit the smallest article to be injured. He only requested a portrait of the king, and one of his flutes.

As soon as the king heard of the taking of Berlin, he wrote to the Chamber of Domains, to learn the mischief done by the enemy, and when he received the state of it, he promised to repair the evil as soon as he should have it in his power.

He forbade them to pay the bills of exchange given to the enemy, declaring them null, and not acceptable. Soon after he gave 300,000 crowns to be distributed among the peasants and inhabitants only.

(120) On the evening before the battle, the king having assembled his generals, spoke as follows :

“ I have called you together, gentlemen, not to ask your
“ advice ; but to inform you, that, to-morrow, I shall attack
“ marshal Daun. I know he is in a good position ; but,
“ at the same time, so confined within a close and narrow
“ point, that, if I beat him, his whole army is taken or
“ drowned in the Elbe. If we are vanquished, we shall all
“ perish, and myself the first. I am weary of this war, and
“ you must all be wearied of it likewise ; we will finish it to-
“ morrow. Ziethen, I give you the right wing of my army ;
“ your object must be to proceed directly towards Torgau,
“ to cut off the retreat of the Austrians, when I shall have
“ beaten and driven them from the heights of Siptitz.”

The following is the order of battle, and of the march, as given out by the king :

“ To-morrow, at seven in the morning, the army will
“ march by its left in four columns. All the waggons and
“ bât horses shall be sent where they were this morning.
“ The dragoons of Schorlemmer, all the hussars and free
“ battalions, shall remain near Weidenhagen ; and as there
“ must be an enemy's corps near Pretsch, colonel Mœhring
“ will bestow his whole attention on that quarter, and so
“ take post as to front every way.

“ The army will attack the enemy to-morrow. The
“ generals will take care to close their columns, and support
“ each other mutually, according to circumstances. There
“ shall be always one hundred and fifty paces distance from
“ one line to another.

“ Messieurs

“ Messieurs Dieskaw and Møeller, colonels of artillery, will dispose their cannon so as to facilitate the attacks.

“ As soon as the enemy shall be forced in the vineyards, the battalions will form again, and the heavy artillery advance.

“ When cavalry shall be wanted, a whole wing must not be advanced, but only as many as can act upon that ground.

“ His majesty relies, for all the rest, on the valour and intelligence of his officers, not doubting that every person will exert himself to the utmost to contribute to success, and to procure him a complete victory over his enemies.”

At this battle, Frederick, who was always at the head of his troops, received a stroke from a musket ball. All his aides-de-camp were employed in carrying orders. Major the count of Anhalt, now a lieutenant-general in the Russian service, alone was near him. This officer entreated the king in vain to retire from the field of battle, and have his wound dressed. “ No,” replied the king, “ *my life is nothing; we must think of restoring order, and of gaining the battle.*” This courageous firmness reanimated the soldiers; order was restored, and the battle won.

During this same engagement, lieutenant-colonel the count of Anhalt made a brisk attack on the enemy with two grenadier companies of the regiment of guards, and two others of the prince of Prussia’s regiment. He was killed in this attack; and, when the death of this brave officer was announced to the king, he turned towards his brother the major, and said to him, “ *Every thing goes wrong to-day! My friends forsake me; I have just learnt the death of your brother.*”

The night immediately succeeding this battle was extremely cold, and the troops had made great fires. Towards the morning, the king passed on horseback along the front of his army from the left to the right wing. When he reached the station of the regiment of guards, he dismounted and went to warm himself, surrounded by his regi-

ment and his grenadiers, and thus waited for day-break, with the intention of again attacking the Austrians, if they had not retreated; a circumstance which could not be discovered, from the darkness. The king conversed with the grenadiers, and greatly extolled their courage during the action. The grenadiers, who were no strangers to the goodness and familiarity of the king, continued pressing more and more around him. One of them, called *Rebiac*, to whom the king the most frequently addressed himself, and who had often received money from him, had the boldness to ask him "*where he had been during the battle. In general,*" continued he, "*you lead us yourself into the hottest fire. This time, however, no person has seen you; it is not well done of you to abandon us in this manner.*" The king answered with an air of benignity and mildness, that during the whole engagement he had remained with the left wing of the army, which prevented him from appearing at the head of his regiment. Whilst he was holding this conversation, the king had unbuttoned his surtout, on account of the heat, and the grenadiers perceived a bullet fall which he had received within his cloaths. The hole made by it in his coat and surtout was next remarked. Their minds were now seized with a general enthusiasm, and they exclaimed, "*You are always our old Fritze; you share every danger with us! We'll die for you! Long live the king! Long live the king!*"

Another grenadier said to him, "*Fritze, wilt thou give us good winter-quarters this year?*" "*By all the devils in hell,*" replied the king, "*let us first take Dresden. . . . When that is done, I'll take care of you, and you shall be contented.*" And, in fact, he put the regiment of guards into winter-quarters at Leipzig.

Whilst the king thus conversed with his grenadiers, and they gathered round him, some of them were smoking, and sent up into his nostrils a thick cloud of the effluvia of the very worst tobacco; others, observing this, said to their comrades,

comrades, "*Keep back.*" "*No,*" answered the king; "*I like the smoke of tobacco.*" It is well known, however, that Frederick could not bear the smell of a pipe.

(121) "*Take a bundle of straw with you to-day,*" said the king, in surveying, as usual, the intrenchments, "*that I may not be obliged to lie on the bare ground, as I did last night.*"—
[Journal of a grenadier, from the camp of Bunselwitz.]

(122) When he learnt the news of the capture of Schweidnitz, an emotion of anger was observed in him towards general Zastrow; but he instantly did violence to himself, and said, smiling, "*It is a bad affair; we must try to repair this.*" It seems as if the general, in his report, wished to boast of having made a vigorous resistance; for Frederick answered him, "*You write to me as Francis I. wrote to his mother, after the battle of Pavia, 'Every thing is lost, except our honour.'*" Yet I cannot well comprehend how the affair has happened, and I suspend my judgment. It is a "*very extraordinary business!*"

The general lost his regiment. He earnestly entreated the king to have his conduct examined by a council of war; but Frederick always refused, observing, "*I accuse you of no crime; but, after such a misfortune, it would be imprudent and dangerous to entrust you with a post or orders.*"

(123) The presents which the king designed for these princes were considerable; but peace taking place soon after, he did not send them all. They were brought back to Berlin, and exposed to the public curiosity.

Under these circumstances, the king exhibited a sort of farce in his camp. He wished to make the soldiers believe that the Turk was going to support him, in order to revive their courage. To this effect, he had a certain number of

his people dressed up in the Turkish fashion, and made them pass through his camp with great pomp, as if it was an embassy from the grand signior.

(124) The baron, finding himself arrested, desired the officer to let him go into an adjoining room, to get some cloaths he stood in need of, which the officer granted, but he waited his return in vain. He had jumped out at the window with the priest who was then in the house, and they both escaped.

Baron Warkotsch was a Lutheran; the chasseur, called Kappel, was a Catholic. As for the priest, he was of the religion of *Jaques Clement, Jean Châtel, Ravillac, Damians, &c.* He had no taste, however, for martyrdom. The father of this priest, who was an honest citizen of Neisse, said, in his interrogatories, before the judges, "We drew the blood out of our veins to give him a good education; but since he has turned priest, he is so changed that he has always despised his mother and me, and when he came to Neisse disdained even to eat with us."

It is remarked, that, in the great hall of the baron's house, the following inscription had been long written up in golden letters :

UT CUM IGNE, SIC CUM REGIBUS.

(125) When the officer gave an account to the king of the bad success of his commission, he said to him coldly, "*Return to your regiment; you are an awkward fellow; I shall not employ you again on such an occasion.*"

(126) Among these prisoners were 100 young gentlemen, whom general Tottleben had carried off the year before from the cadet's academy at Berlin. When Tottleben went into this house, he wanted only to take away the tallest; but the

the younger ones, who were only from 12 to 14 years old, ashamed not to be looked upon as soldiers, followed their comrades, and most of them secretly.

(127) In 1668, Peter I. expelled from the throne his elder brother Ivan, by means of the Strelitzes, and alone governed the empire. In 1727, Catherine, his spouse, appointed the young duke Ulric of Holstein to be her successor. Her testament had no effect, and Anne, niece of Peter I. was placed on the throne. In 1740, Anne bequeathed the crown to young prince Ivan, son of Anthony-Ulric of Wolfenbittel and her niece Anne, naming the duke of Biron regent until the young prince attained the age of 17. Biron was rejected, and the regency given to Anne, mother of Ivan. But, in the same year, Elizabeth Petrowna, the youngest daughter of Peter I. mounted the throne, by the aid of a party, and sent young Ivan, with his parents, into Silesia. She designed Peter III. duke of Holstein, for her successor, who, after a reign of six months, was obliged, on the 9th of July, 1762, to surrender the throne to his wife Catherine II.

(128) The king of Prussia's letters found among the papers of Peter III. proved that Frederick frequently recommended moderation.

(129) The bishops, popes, and monks, possess in Russia near a million of peasants; for, in that country, estates are valued by peasants, as they are elsewhere by acres of land; and a Russian bets a hundred peasants on a card, as a Frenchman does a hundred Louis, or an Englishman as many guineas. The lands possessed by the clergy are estimated at two millions of roubles. According to the plan of Peter III. their property was to be administered by the state,

*what is trait
d'honneur*

state, and the bishops were to have pensions of 5000 roubles, and the popes of 150.

(130) The cargo of the *Hermione*, taken by the English frigate the *Active*, was worth 10 millions of crowns. In the expedition against the Philippines, Parker took a Spanish ship in which he found 15 millions of dollars.* The sums taken at the Havanna amount to 14 millions of crowns, &c.

(131) Fortunately, Schlabrendorf, minister of state for Silesia, had forced the inhabitants, at the commencement of the war, to cultivate potatoes. This was a great resource for the province; they were almost the only food for the inhabitants and soldiers.

(132) When the peace of Westphalia, which terminated the war of thirty years, was in agitation, it took four years to prepare the ceremonial, and almost as much more for the execution of the articles.

(133) The following is an abstract of the treaty of peace:

Article I. There shall be peace and sincere friendship, &c. between her majesty the empress-queen, on the one part, and the king of Prussia, on the other, &c.

Art. II. All hostilities, losses, damages, &c. on one side and the other, in the preceding war, shall be forgotten, and no indemnification shall be claimed under any name or pretext whatsoever. The estates confiscated or taken during the war shall be restored to their proprietors, so as that they shall be put in possession of them as before the beginning of the troubles.

Art. III. Her majesty the empress-queen renounces, for

* This is greatly exaggerated.—TRANSLATOR.

herself and her successors, all pretensions she has, or might have, on the states and countries of his majesty the king of Prussia, and specifically on those which were ceded to him by the preliminary articles of the treaty of Breslaw, and by the treaty of Berlin. His majesty the king of Prussia equally renounces, for himself and his successors, all demands or pretensions on the states of her majesty the empress-queen.

Art. IV. Hostilities shall cease on both sides from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

Art. V. Twenty-one days after the exchange of ratifications, the empress-queen shall withdraw her troops from the German states not under her dominion, and shall likewise evacuate the county of Glatz, and, in general, all the countries, states, places, and fortresses, belonging to the king of Prussia, which she has taken or occupied, during the late war in Silesia or elsewhere, either by herself or her allies. The fortresses of Glatz, Wesel, and Gueldres, shall be restored to the king in the same state as before the war. The king of Prussia, in the same space of time, shall withdraw his troops from all the German states not under his dominion, and shall restore all the states, countries, cities, places, and fortresses which he may have taken or occupied, appertaining to the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, &c.

Art. VI. Contributions shall cease from the moment of the signature of the treaty, and what shall have been exacted subsequent to that period shall be faithfully restored. The hostages shall be set at liberty.

Art. VII. The prisoners of war shall be released without ransom.

Art. VIII. The subjects of both the contracting parties, who shall have been forced into the service of the one or the other power, shall be restored to liberty.

Art. IX. The empress-queen shall restore to the king of Prussia all the papers, port-folios, titles, documents, and archives,

archives, found in the countries, cities, and places, of his Prussian majesty.

Art. X. The inhabitants of the town and county of Glatz, who chuse to quit the said country to settle elsewhere, shall have free liberty upon this account, without being obliged to pay any duty for the same.

Art. XI. The king of Prussia shall confirm the nomination to all the ecclesiastical benefices made by the empress queen during the war in the duchies of Cleves and Gueldres.

Art. XII. The preliminary articles signed at Breslaw on the 11th of June, 1745, and the definitive treaty signed at Berlin the 28th of July of the same year, the boundary treaty of 1742, and the peace of Dresden of the 25th of December, 1745, shall be renewed and confirmed, in as much as they do not derogate from the present treaty.

Art. XIII. The contracting powers shall favour the commerce between their respective subjects, and prepare a commercial treaty as soon as possible.

Art. XIV. The king of Prussia shall leave the Catholic religion in Silesia on the footing on which it stood at the signing of the preliminaries of Breslaw and of the definitive treaty of Berlin; and the inhabitants of that province shall be maintained in the possessions, liberties, and privileges which belong to them; with the reserve, nevertheless, of liberty of conscience for the Protestant religion, or the rights of the sovereign.

Art. XV. The two contracting parties renew the obligation contained in the 9th article, and in the separate article of the treaty of Berlin, of paying the debts mortgaged on Silesia, according to agreement.

Art. XVI. The two contracting parties mutually guaranty their dominions; to wit, the empress-queen all the states of the king of Prussia without exception, and the king of Prussia the states of the empress-queen in Germany.

Art.

Art. XVII. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, is comprised in this treaty.

Art. XVIII. The whole empire is comprised in the stipulation of articles 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7. The peace of Westphalia, and all the constitutions of the empire, are also confirmed by the present treaty.

Art. XIX. The contracting parties conclude, that, in the present treaty, are comprised their friends and allies, reserving to themselves the power to communicate it to them, by a separate article, to have the same force, as if inserted word for word in the present treaty, and which shall be equally ratified by the two contracting parties.

Art. XX. The exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty shall be made in the space of 15 days, or sooner, if possible.

Done at the castle of Hubertsbourg,
the 15th of February, 1763.

Hertzberg, the minister, relates, that, on seeing the king some time after, Frederick said to him, "*You have made peace as I made war.*" There are persons who think that this remark contains some pleasantry.

(134) When this ambassador was presented to the king, he took Frederick by the arm, whirled him round, and kissed his shoulder, according to the manner of his country. The ladies of Berlin gallantly did the honours of Prussia, and the Turk had no reason to regret his seraglio.

The ambassador also assisted at an assembly of the academy of sciences, and the perpetual secretary, Formey, addressed him in a discourse of which he understood not a syllable, nor were the rest of the audience much more edified. After this, a machine of new invention was displayed. As the crowd pressed eagerly round the table to observe it, and the Turk found himself not much at his ease, he pushed back those

those who were behind him, and then, with a spring, leaped upon the table; and, as is the oriental manner, seated himself cross-legged near to the machine, for the purpose of examining it at his leisure. The perpetual secretary, from whom the author had this anecdote, experienced the greatest difficulty in the world to refrain from laughing, and the spectators forgot the machine, to examine the Turk.

OTHER ANECDOTES AND PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO
THE FIFTH PERIOD.

In 1758, when the king was carrying on the siege of Olmutz, the enemy took, near Domstædtel, a convoy of provisions and ammunition. On receiving this disagreeable intelligence, the king assembled at the head-quarters at Schmirfitz all his generals and commanders of battalions and squadrons, and addressed them as follows:

“Gentlemen,

“The enemy has found an opportunity of intercepting a
“convoy which was coming to us from Silesia. This fatal
“accident obliges me to raise the siege of Olmutz. But the
“officers must not, from this, imagine that all is lost. By
“no means; they should be persuaded, on the contrary,
“that every thing will be so repaired as to keep the enemy
“in awe. The officers, therefore, should inspire courage
“into the soldiers, and not suffer them to murmur. I hope,
“too, that the officers themselves will shew no marks of discontent: if I perceive any thing of the kind, I will severely punish the person who shall be guilty of it. I am
“going to march; and, where-ever I find the enemy, I will

“fight

“fight them, howsoever advantageous their position, and
“howsoever strong their defensive batteries. Yet” [here the
king rubbed his forehead with his cane] “I will never attack
“them imprudently, or without mature reflection. But I
“am persuaded, that, if a fair opportunity offers, all the of-
“ficers and soldiers will do their duty, as they have always
“performed it hitherto.”

After this discourse, the king quitted his officers with an
air of kindness and affection which gained him every heart.

When the king returned from the war, he went immedi-
ately to Charlottenbourg, a palace situated on the banks of
the Sprée, a league from Berlin, and sent for Benda, the
master of his chapel. He ordered him to get repaired, in the
space of four hours, the organ of the chapel, which the ene-
my had broken. But, the artist applied to on this occasion
found it so spoilt, that he declared it impossible to repair it
in so short a time. Benda told the king what he said. “No
“matter,” replied Frederick; “leave the organ as it is;
“that will not hinder us from singing *Te Deum* in the cha-
“pel.” Frederick fixes an hour for this ceremony, and all
the musicians repair to the chapel, expecting to see a most
brilliant audience formed by the whole court. Every thing
was ready, when the king entered alone, and without any
retinue. He seats himself, and makes a sign for them to
commence, which they do accordingly. As soon as the voices
began *Te Deum laudamus*, Frederick hid his face with both
his hands, to give vent to the tears flowing from his eyes.
This spectacle so affected the musicians in general, that they
shed tears likewise, and were hardly able to read their music.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN FREDERICK II. AND AUGUSTUS-WILLIAM, PRINCE-ROYAL OF PRUSSIA, FATHER OF FREDERICK-WILLIAM II. THE PRESENT REIGNING MONARCH.

First Letter from the Prince Royal of Prussia to the King.

“ Camp at Buntzlau, 1st of July, 1757.

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ I arrived this afternoon at this camp with all the wag-
 “ gons. The enemy’s hussars attacked us, but we suffered
 “ not the smallest loss. It is my duty to speak freely to you
 “ of the situation in which we are. Be assured that I have
 “ talked with the generals before I wrote this letter. There
 “ is neither flour nor bread for the army at Buntzlau. Our
 “ camp is as well established as possible, because it is neces-
 “ sary to support the town. The camp is but too strong
 “ in front; but, if the enemy’s army should pass the Elbe
 “ near Brandeis, as it is probable from the news we have of
 “ them, we are cut off from Leutmeritz. We are at present
 “ so surrounded by their light troops, that there is no pro-
 “ vision in the camp. Their object seems to be to starve us
 “ out; for it would be more difficult to quit the camp in
 “ fight of the enemy’s army. Besides this, we are in want of
 “ water; for, to prevent the right wing from being inter-
 “ sected by three lines, it was necessary to post it as it now
 “ is, which removes it from the Iser.

“ The regiments have sent their wounded to Zittau.
 “ The greatest part of the regiments are without their wag-
 “ gons; I imagine it will be difficult, therefore, to send as
 “ far as half way to Leutmeritz the number of waggons ne-
 “ cessary to convey bread.

“ I shall now propose to you, my dear brother, what I
 “ think most adviseable for the security of the army. I de-
 “ clare to you, that this counsel does not originate with me
 “ alone,

" alone, but in concert with generals who have more expe-
 " rience than I. We are of opinion, that, if we were to
 " occupy the camp of Neuschloss, we should more conve-
 " niently be able to join you as before. By this we shall
 " cover Lusatia, and, according to circumstances, might
 " more easily pass into Silesia. The convoy of general
 " Brandeis can join us without difficulty; there will be a
 " greater supply of provisions in the camp, and the soldiers
 " will become more content, which is the principal object in
 " the present state of things. This is the true picture of
 " the situation we are now in.

" We have seen a considerable body of light troops en-
 " camped near Strenitz, not far from our camp, from which
 " they are only separated by a hollow way. Deserters who
 " have just arrived assure us that prince Charles will pass the
 " Elbe this day with his army, either to attack or to encamp
 " near us. If this intelligence be true, and I remain in this
 " camp, which I am not sure of being able to defend with
 " honour, I will acquit myself of what I owe to you, the
 " army, and the state.

" Let me observe, then, that, under this event, I shall
 " march without staying for your orders; but, should the
 " enemy not pass the Elbe, I wait an answer, to which I
 " shall submit, as is my duty, &c."

Second Letter from the Prince Royal to the King.

" Camp at Buntzlau, 2d of July, 1757.

" MY DEAR BROTHER,

" You will have seen, by my last letter, the intelligence
 " brought us by an enemy's hussar and a woman from
 " Brandeis. It seems to me conformable to the fact. We
 " take all the pains in the world to procure intelligence of
 " the enemy. One of our trumpets returned from Daun's
 " army has brought a letter dated from the camp at Lissau;
 " it is probable, therefore, that prince Charles's army is on

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" this,

" this, and that of marshal Daun on the other side the Iser.
 " All Nadaſti's corps are encamped near Stranow and Sobinka.
 " This camp is ſeparated from ours by a conſiderable hollow
 " way. General Winterfeldt has undertaken to march with
 " four battalions to Lobe, to get more certain news of the
 " enemy. If matters do not change, prince Maurice will
 " march to-morrow with his regiment, Fink's battalion of
 " grenadiers, the regiments of Brunſwick and Stechau,
 " and a hundred huſſars, who, according to your orders, are
 " to go for bread at Pleiſwedel. We are in want of every
 " ſort of ſubſiſtence ; this miſery makes the ſoldiers mur-
 " mur, &c."

Third Letter from the Prince Royal of Prussia to the King.

" Camp at Buntzlau, 2d of July, 1757.

" *In the evening.*

" MY DEAR BROTHER,

" Prince Maurice will give you an exact report of our
 " condition, and of the impoſſibility we are in of maintaining
 " the camp of Buntzlau. The want of water, forage, and
 " proviſions, is the principal cauſe of it. Add to this, the
 " advices we receive from all ſides, that prince Charles has
 " paſſed the Elbe near Brandeis, that Daun is encamped at
 " Liſſau, and Nadaſti's corps at Stranow, by which means
 " they cut us off from proviſions, and from all communi-
 " cation with Leutmeritz. I find myſelf compelled, there-
 " fore, to occupy a camp not inferior in ſtrength, and better
 " ſituated than this ; I mean that of Neuſchlofs. I expect,
 " every moment, the report of general Winterfeldt, who is
 " gone with ſome battalions to reconnoitre the enemy. As
 " ſoon as I receive it, I ſhall make the diſpoſition of the
 " march. Having received no letters for ſome days paſt
 " from Leutmeritz, I am afraid the light infantry have been
 " taken. You may be aſſured, my dear brother, that nothing
 " ſhall

"shall be neglected which is conformable to your will, and
"suitable for the army, &c."

The King's Answer to this Letter.

"Leutmeritz, 3d of July.

"March to Hirschberg."

Answer of the Prince Royal to this Note.

"Camp at Neuschloss, 4th of July.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

"The hussar arrived safe with your note. I had taken my
"camp near Hirschberg, not having been able to reach
"Neuschloss. The quantity of baggage greatly retarded
"our march. In spite of this we have not lost a single wag-
"gon, and the rear-guard only one man of Le Noble's bat-
"talion. I chose this camp, which is only a short mile
"from Hirschberg, because, in our present state, it is very
"commodious for the army to refresh themselves in, and we
"have some provisions here. I shall send an engineer to-
"morrow to Leypa to reconnoitre the town, and the gar-
"rison shall be proportioned to his report. When we shall
"have put a garrison into that place, we shall be less strait-
"ened for provisions, and gain more space for foraging.

"I have this day ordered general Brandeis to hasten his
"march. General Rebentisch may reinforce his escort at
"Zittau, whither prince Maurice has detached him. Plock's
"battalion remains at Goerlitz with the wounded, and ge-
"neral Rebentisch will join general Brandeis with the bat-
"talions of Kalkreut, and five squadrons of Werner. The
"colonel, who is at Zittau, retains a battalion of pioneers,
"and the regiment of Kursel, to cover the magazine.

"All the environs are occupied by small troops of hussars
"and Pandours; we have no news whatever of Daun's
"army; a trumpet has brought us another letter, dated from
"Lissa.

H h 2

"I will

“ I will have the roads which lead from hence to Leutmeritz,
 “ Zittau, and by Aicha, to Hirschberg, in Silesia, reconnoitred,
 “ to be prepared for every event. Prince Maurice writes me
 “ word that general Bulau is arrived with bread at Pleiswedel,
 “ and that general Meinecke will bring it here to-day. The
 “ rapine and disorders of the camp followers and women are
 “ become so excessive, that it will be highly necessary to make
 “ an example. I beg you, therefore, to dictate to me my
 “ conduct on the occasion. I am, &c.”

The King's Answer to the former Letters of the Prince of Prussia.

“ Leutmeritz, 3d of July.

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ You cannot now retire into Silesia. No other retreat,
 “ then, remains for you but Lusatia. You must forage every
 “ quarter, and destroy every thing you are unable to con-
 “ sume, to render the enemy's subsistence difficult. As soon
 “ as you have established a camp at Hirschberg, the communi-
 “ cation with Leutmeritz will give no further trouble. We
 “ must make every effort to maintain ourselves till the 15th
 “ of August; and, as Zittau is a post of little importance,
 “ I leave you the choice of fixing your camp at Reichenberg,
 “ Krottau, or Gabel. Should the enemy discover an inten-
 “ tion to turn towards Lusatia, you must encamp with the
 “ utmost circumspection, let him pass, then follow him, and
 “ intercept his provisions; in consequence he will be con-
 “ strained to attack you in such a position as you may chuse,
 “ after consulting the prince of Bevern, and other skilful
 “ captains who are acquainted with those countries. If the
 “ enemy proceeds with all his troops to Landshout, you must
 “ march to Griefenberg, in order to cut off his convoys.
 “ Winterfeldt, and, above all, major Cimbers, who know
 “ these places, can settle your march, and chuse your camps.
 “ Precipitate nothing upon uncertain intelligence, neither
 “ take any resolution without being sure of the enemy's views.

“ Circulate

“Circulate a report in the army that you have a great design, and that affairs will soon wear a different aspect. I am, &c.”

The King's Answer to the fourth Letter of the Prince Royal of Prussia.

“Leutmeritz, 5th of July.

“MY DEAR BROTHER,

“I am well satisfied with the camp you have taken at Neuschloss, and you have fixed it as it should be for the present occasion. Having learnt that the enemy have views on Teschen, you must be upon your guard, and prevent them from establishing themselves between your camp and the Elbe: for, supposing that a body of the enemy should encamp in those parts, you must immediately detach a corps towards Budissin, which will oblige them to desist from their project. Should the whole force of the enemy be pointed against Leutmeritz, which would oblige us to form a junction, I have chosen a very strong camp between Ploschkowitz and Zaorzan; but this junction must take place only at the very last extremity.

“I have received intelligence of prince Charles's army having marched to Wittendorf, but I do not believe it. If you have any thing to communicate to me, you must take an hussar who understands Hungarian, and dress him like an Austrian; under this disguise, he will surely pass the posts; and if he be discovered, no matter, as the letter will be in cyphers; but you may assure him, that, on his arrival, he shall receive six ducats. I have given orders to the commandants of the fortresses of Schweidnitz, Neisse, Glatz, and Cosel, and to colonel Kreutz, to report to you every thing that passes respecting the motions of the enemy, and the places where they establish their magazines, and on what side they probably extend their views. As for the rest, if the rapine and disorder of the followers and

“ the women continue, it will be very proper to make an
 “ example, by hanging up some of those wretches.”

Answer of the Prince of Prussia to the King's first Letter.

“ Camp at Neuschloss, 6th of July.

“ *In the morning.*

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ As, since the night of the 30th of June, I have received no intelligence from you, I am afraid that it is difficult to preserve a communication with the town of Leutmeritz, unless garrisons were placed in Aufche and Druhm; but those places not being tenable, should the enemy attack them in force, I would not advise it.

“ You wish us to make every effort to maintain ourselves in Bohemia till the 14th of August; the want of provisions and of forage will render this very difficult to execute. All that I think practicable, is to wait your orders before I make the least movement; and if, from circumstances, it becomes necessary to take a sudden decision, you may be sure that I shall consult the most experienced generals, and those who know the country best. Neither shall any measure be resolved upon too rashly. I have received a note from general Brandeis, who arrived at Zittau on the 2d, and, in answer, I have ordered him to begin his march with 700 waggons and the money. As he must pass near Gabel, I detached major Billerbeck, with a battalion of grenadiers, to facilitate his passage. The major has just informed me that the enemy have gotten the start of him, and that he has stopped with his battalion at Leypa. A man, who is come as deputy from Reichstadt, to apologize to the commissaries for the deficiency of that town, with respect to the supplies imposed on them, as the Austrians occupy all the roads, tells me, that he had seen their dragoons and cuirassiers, and had heard it said that Nadasti's corps had passed the Iser at Munchengrætz, to march to
 “ Zittau,

" Zittau, and that their van-guard were already in the neigh-
 " bourhood of Nimes. This news has given us no small unea-
 " siness for the progress of general Brandeis. To ascertain
 " the fact, we shall this day send out two strong patrols, the
 " one towards Gabel, the other towards Nimes, to recon-
 " noitre the enemy's strength; and, as we cannot dispense
 " with the communication with Zittau, the strength of the
 " detachment to take possession of Gabel shall be propor-
 " tioned to the report communicated by the patrols. Ge-
 " neral Brandeis is informed of every particular, and has in-
 " structions not to march until he is ordered. The regi-
 " ment of Brand entered Leypa to-day, where the bake-
 " houses will be established.

" General Goltz has written to general Retzau concern-
 " ing peace; he demands a fresh convoy of flour. Our
 " infantry are 21,135 men strong, and the cavalry 6037, in-
 " cluding the hussars. I am, &c."

Letter from the Prince of Prussia to the King.

" Camp at Neuschloss, 6 July.

" In the afternoon.

" MY DEAR BROTHER,

" We have the following intelligence from three diffe-
 " rent spies sent by general Werner to watch the motions of
 " the enemy. Nadaſti's corps are to march in three columns:
 " the first, composed of hussars, Pandours, regular cavalry,
 " and infantry, arrived yesterday at Nimes. Their object
 " is to cut off our communication with Zittau. The second
 " column is at Hirschberg, and consists of three regiments
 " of Saxon cavalry, four regiments of hussars, and one thou-
 " sand Pandours. The remainder of the corps is at present
 " between Dauba and Perſtein. Daun's army were to pass
 " the Iſer the day before yesterday, near Benatek, and make
 " a forward march this day. They say, publicly, in the
 " enemy's army, that they intend cutting us off from Zit-

" tau and our magazines. All these advices, confirmed by
 " our patrols, have induced me to follow general Winter-
 " feldt's counsel, and fix our camp at Leypa, where general
 " Brandeis, passing by Georgenthal, will be able to join us.
 " After this junction, we shall have it in our power to make
 " a considerable detachment towards Gabel, and the com-
 " munication with Leutmeritz will not be more difficult
 " from that camp than from hence. My principal induce-
 " ment for this march was the communication with Zittau,
 " and the junction with general Brandeis, with the provisions
 " and military chest, both of which are in danger of being
 " lost, if not efficaciously covered.

" General Winterfeldt will march to-morrow to Georgen-
 " thal, with five battalions and a regiment of dragoons and
 " hussars, to clear the way to Zittau. I have not yet re-
 " ceived the report of major Belling, who is patrolling to-
 " wards Gabel. I am, &c."

The King's Answer to the preceding Letter.

" Leutmeritz, 7 July.

" MY DEAR BROTHER,

" I have received your two letters of the 6th, on the same
 " subject. For this once, I approve the march you have
 " made with the army; but hope that henceforward you
 " will not recede, lest you should find yourself in the middle
 " of Saxony without dreaming of it. It seems to me as if
 " the camp of Neuschloß was strong enough, and that you
 " had only to detach two considerable corps to meet general
 " Brandeis and facilitate his passage. At present I have rea-
 " son to fear he will be attacked before you can join him, as
 " the hussars inform me they heard a firing in the environs
 " of Gabel, which can be nothing else. The body of hus-
 " sars detached against you cannot be so large as it is repre-
 " sented, as the enemy have made a detachment of two regi-
 " ments from them to send to Nuremberg. One regiment

" is

“ is encamped in this neighbourhood, and three battalions
 “ are still with the army. When you shall have the flour
 “ and money, I pray you, in the name of God, to make no
 “ more backward marches; and I, now, forewarn you that
 “ there is no forage in Saxony: by retreating, therefore, you
 “ will be in want of every thing, and consequently all will
 “ be lost. We have this evening received, by a trumpet,
 “ letters from marshal Daun; they come from Kosmonos.
 “ I hope you will have gotten that which I sent you this
 “ morning by an hussar. I am, &c.”

Letter from the Prince of Prussia to the King.

“ Camp at Leypa, in the night of the 7th and 8th of July.

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ We have this day entered the camp of Leypa, which is
 “ very strong, and will secure us the march of general Bran-
 “ deis. We are at present posted at three miles from Tes-
 “ chen: I shall have the roads to Leutmeritz and Budissin
 “ [or Bautzen] reconnoitred as soon as possible. I have this
 “ day received news from majors de Belling and Billerbeck.
 “ They have arrived safe at Gabel, and put a garrison into
 “ that town. They saw no Pandours in their march; a
 “ part of our troops engaged in a skirmish with five hundred
 “ hussars, in which we lost only one horse.

“ General Winterfeldt should reach Georgenthal this
 “ evening: he has informed me, that he hopes the road to
 “ Zittau will be secured to-morrow, and that he had directed
 “ general Brandeis to begin his march. At this moment
 “ one of our trumpets is returned. He has been as far as the
 “ village of Walker, near Hirschberg, where he found a
 “ major with a detachment of O'Donnel's regiment. He saw
 “ hussars in all the villages he passed through, but no Pan-
 “ dours. He has brought no letters, as he says they will be
 “ sent to-morrow by an enemy's trumpet. It is difficult to
 “ divine the enemy's designs, whose numerous light troops
 “ hinder

“ hinder us from knowing any thing, and no confidence can
 “ be placed in casual intelligence. Daun’s army are to en-
 “ camp near Buntzlau (this appears probable), and Nadaſti’s
 “ corps near Hirschberg; another corps, it is ſaid, is marched
 “ towards Weiſſwaffer, and muſt paſs on the ſide of Zittau.
 “ This project will be ſoon overthrown by our meaſures.

“ I have not the ſmalleſt intelligence of prince Charles’s
 “ army. One of the greateſt inconveniences I experience is,
 “ that I muſt be apprized 36 hours before-hand when it is
 “ neceſſary to march, in order to ſend the baggage on be-
 “ fore, as I have ſuch an abundance of it. I have had it
 “ examined by a ſtaff-officer, to rid myſelf of every thing ſu-
 “ perfluous; yet we muſt retain what is indiſpenſable for the
 “ regiments. The advices I may receive from the governors
 “ of the fortrefſes in Sileſia will make me well acquainted
 “ with the enemy’s projects; but, ſhould they form a deſign
 “ on this province, and particularly on the magazine of
 “ Schweidnitz, I ſhould deceive you, were I to pretend, that,
 “ in my preſent condition, I could be able to prevent them,
 “ as you order me. I diſpatched an huſſar yeſterday, diſgui-
 “ fed, with a letter; I do not know whether he will arrive:
 “ I have taken three copies of the preſent, which I ſend you
 “ by three different meſſengers. I wrote to-day to the com-
 “ mandant of Teſchen, to inform me how matters proceed
 “ in that quarter. I eſteem myſelf happy to conform my-
 “ ſelf in every thing to your inſtructions. You may be
 “ aſſured that my wiſhes will be accompliſhed when I ſhall
 “ become able to convince you of my eſteem, and of the re-
 “ ſpect with which I ſhall continue all my life, &c, &c.”

Letter from the King to the Prince of Prussia.

“ Leutmeritz, 7th of July.

“ MY DEAR BROTHER.

“ I have certain intelligence that the whole army of the
 “ empire aſſembled at Furth is only 18,000 men ſtrong.

“ That

“ That is too little to make a diversion. I suspect that the
 “ Austrians have a desire to enter by Landshout into Silesia.
 “ General Kreutz writes me word that a body of 3000 men
 “ have made their appearance in that quarter, but retired.
 “ Daun covers the movements of his army by his light
 “ troops, yet Heaven knows what he is doing.

“ Keep up a constant correspondence with captain and
 “ vice-commandant D'O at Glatz, and with general Kreutz,
 “ that you may be able to receive intelligence of what the
 “ enemy is undertaking in those quarters, and prepare the
 “ disposition of your march without delay, in case it should
 “ become necessary. General Winterfeldt, and Embers,
 “ the major of engineers, know the country and camps you
 “ will have to take. If this province becomes the theatre
 “ of war, and you can get before the enemy to Landshout,
 “ you will find in the mountains advantageous camps which
 “ cover Silesia. The first point you have to observe is, that,
 “ if you are obliged to retire by Lusatia, you will be com-
 “ pelled, should Nadasti follow you with his cavalry, to op-
 “ pose to him a corps which you will leave at Zittau to
 “ prevent incursions. I will then relieve those troops, and
 “ give you, besides, a reinforcement of as many as I can
 “ spare.”

Answer of the Prince of Prussia to this Letter.

“ Camp of Leypa, 8th of July.

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ The hussar has brought me your letter of the 7th. The
 “ correspondence I am to keep up with the governors of the
 “ Silesian fortresses will be difficult, all communication being
 “ interrupted by the enemy's light troops ; however, nothing
 “ shall be wanting on my part. I earnestly entreat you to
 “ give me positive orders respecting what you would wish
 “ me to do. Am I to cover Silesia, or remain in Bohemia,
 “ to cover the town of Zittau, as long as I have forage? If
 you

“ you dread an irruption into Silesia, and intend that I should
 “ go there, I believe it will be difficult, if not impossible,
 “ to take any other rout than by Zittau, on account of the
 “ quantity of baggage to be advanced and loaded with ne-
 “ cessaries. Fifteen battalions at least, such as they now
 “ are, will be necessary to cover Zittau, if I march into Si-
 “ lesia; for Nadaſti's corps is estimated at 10,000 men.

“ General Brandeis has written to me from Gabel, where
 “ he arrived the 7th with the first waggons. I have detached
 “ general Crocæ with two battalions of infantry, and some
 “ hussars and dragoons, to facilitate his march. We have
 “ no news whatever of Daun's army. Our whole camp is
 “ surrounded by flying troops of the enemy's hussars; but
 “ they dare not leave the woods. A man from Gærhitz re-
 “ ports that a body of the enemy encamped there yesterday
 “ at noon. I shall endeavour to hear more of them. I have
 “ not received any account to-day of general Winterfeldt.
 “ His intention was to reach Georgenthal this day; I ima-
 “ gine he is there, but that his report is intercepted. Ge-
 “ neral Goltz assures me that we cannot march before the
 “ 14th, as the flour will only arrive to-morrow, and we must
 “ have bread for six days. General Winterfeldt is just re-
 “ turned; he has left two battalions at Reichstadt, and only
 “ saw 400 Pandours and a few hussars, who immediately re-
 “ tired. The road to Zittau is at present secured by the
 “ garrison of Reichstadt, and I imagine that general Brandeis
 “ will arrive at the camp to-morrow.

“ General Goltz tells me, that it is absolutely necessary to
 “ send back the waggons from Silesia which brought the
 “ flour, without which the consumption of bread and forage
 “ would be too great. I have followed his advice, and given
 “ the necessary orders.

“ General Winterfeldt informs me, that the enemy I spoke
 “ of were only 600 horse marching towards Silesia: he hopes
 “ to be better informed of the enemy's designs, as the spy
 “ whom

“whom he has employed is very circumspect and artful.
“I am, &c.”

*Answer of the Prince of Prussia to the King's first Letter of the
7th of July.*

“Camp of Leypa, 10th of July.

“MY DEAR BROTHER,

“The hussar I dispatched yesterday to Leutmeritz with
“my second letter, not having been able to pass, is, fortu-
“nately, returned this morning. I hope that this will be
“more lucky, and I trust him with them both.

“General Brandeis arrived here safely yesterday with the
“flour waggons; so that we have flour for ten days, and
“money to pay the soldiers for two months. He has brought
“the augmentation. The infantry have lost 213 men by
“desertion. The posts of Reichstadt and Gabel being oc-
“cupied, the convoy passed with safety. Some hussars and
“Pandours shewed themselves on the rear, but a cannon shot
“was sufficient to disperse them. An Austrian trumpet ar-
“rived yesterday with a letter from general Moroez, whose
“quarters are at Nimes; his corps is about 5 or 6000 strong,
“and composed of hussars and Pandours.

“To-morrow I shall send back empty the waggons
“brought by general Brandeis; they shall be escorted by
“two battalions, who are to remain at Zittau to be always
“ready for the same service when we shall get flour from
“that quarter.

“I send you the report of a deserter and of another man.
“Though I lay little stress on such accounts, I do not fail
“to communicate them to you. I shall not quit this camp
“without orders, or some very sufficient reason. I never
“imagined, that, in passing with the army by Zittau into Lu-
“satia, I should stop there any time, but I thought that I
“should pass by Lusatia into Silesia, to cover the frontiers
“of that province. Ignorant of all your projects, I think
“I did

" I did well in having the roads reconnoitred, and in putting
 " garrisons into such places as cover the road. Colonel le
 " Noble, supported by a hundred hussars, is going to attack
 " a body of Pandours to-night. He is gone to reconnoitre
 " the roads in the wood, and thinks he can cut them off.

" An Austrian trumpet is just arrived with a letter from
 " marshal Daun, dated from Munchengrätz, the 7th. He
 " has sent back with him a servant who had robbed his master,
 " captain Bos d'Itzenplitz; I have examined him, and send
 " you his report. I am, &c."

Letter from the Prince of Prussia to the King.

" Camp at Leypa, 11th of July.

" MY DEAR BROTHER,

" We have this day sent off an Austrian trumpet for
 " Leutmeritz, with letters for general Retzow, and, for his
 " safety, have given him one of ours, as a companion, who
 " carries letters. We hoped that the enemy's advanced posts
 " would let him pass; the stroke has succeeded, and our
 " trumpet is just returned with the answer. I most humbly
 " beg you to honour me with your orders for the following
 " incidents.

" All accounts agree that the grand combined army have
 " passed the Iser near Munchengrätz, and are going to en-
 " camp at Nimes, where general Moroez now is. This
 " movement approximates them to the high road of Zittau,
 " by Gabel and Reichstadt. Should the enemy establish his
 " camp there, he may arrive at Zittau at the same time with
 " us; and, should we wish to march there, the shortest road
 " we shall have to take, which is tolerably practicable, will
 " be that of Georgenthal, if we would not expose our flank
 " to the enemy.

" I send you annexed the report of an Austrian deserter,
 " and a woman, as well as that of major Belling at Gabel.
 " General Winterfeldt has tried to sound the Austrian trum-

" pet

“pet who arrived here yesterday, and all he could learn from
 “him was that general Keit was detached with 15,000 men.
 “I once more beg of you, as a favour, to give me positive
 “orders respecting what I am to do. Besides this, I must
 “again inform you, that we have bread only for ten days,
 “and that the transport of flour, brought by general Brandeis
 “from Zittau, is only sufficient for three weeks.

“I shall have a camp reconnoitred which I am advised to
 “occupy, in case Daun should establish his at Nimes. By
 “this, our right wing would extend to Brins; we should
 “have Walten in front; our left wing would stretch to-
 “wards Gabel, and the Zittau road would be covered by
 “such a position.

“We are chiefly deficient in flesh meat; all the regiments
 “are not supplied with oxen, and the inhabitants of the
 “country cannot furnish enough of them, on account of
 “the hussars and Pandours. Le Noble has burnt some of
 “the Pandours huts, and brought off their cloaks. I
 “am, &c.”

Letter from the King to the Prince of Prussia.

“Leutmeritz, 8th of July.

“I beg you to keep well upon your guard, and not divulge
 “what I am now about to write you; it is of the last im-
 “portance. You have no reason to entertain the least ap-
 “prehension for Schweidnitz; that place is provided with
 “every thing, and will not easily be taken, unless by a formal
 “siege.

“Your first step must be to join general Brandeis with the
 “military chest, and 700 waggons of flour and augmentation,
 “and to send back the empty waggons.

[*The projects relative to one offensive, and another defensive
 army, in Saxony, are here omitted.*]

..... “You will pursue the same plan in Lusatia;
 “but, as we cannot act offensively on both sides, you will
 “think

“ think of fortifying your camps as long as my expeditions
 “ last. I will then send you succours, or I will go and fol-
 “ low similar measures, and act offensively in concert with
 “ you. In this case, I sincerely counsel you to attack with
 “ one wing.

“ Thoroughly to teach your officers these manœuvres, you
 “ must make haste to incorporate the battalions of Kahlen-
 “ berg and Baer into the weak battalions. The regiments
 “ of Manstein and Wiedersheim must be united with those
 “ of Bevern, prince Henry, Munchow, Schultze, and Wied.
 “ The generals may select the best officers to complete them.
 “ The other officers, general Wiedersheim, and those who
 “ lose their companies, shall be paid out of my private trea-
 “ sury. Furnished with all these succours, you may return
 “ to the camp at Neuschloss. This forward movement will
 “ have no bad consequence. I am, &c.”

Answer of the Prince of Prussia to the preceding Letter.

“ Camp at Leypa, 12 July,

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ I received your letter of the 8th yesterday evening.
 “ You may be assured that I will not abuse the confidence
 “ you put in me, and that I will observe inviolable secrecy
 “ respecting the contents of your last.

“ You wish me to tell you sincerely, and without disguise,
 “ my opinion of the present state of affairs. You will al-
 “ ready have learnt, doubtless, of the safe arrival of general
 “ Brandeis, and that he has left near a month's flour at
 “ Zittau. The roads to Zittau are almost impracticable.
 “ To obtain bread for 10 days, 550 waggons must be sent
 “ for the flour, with an escort proportioned to the force of
 “ the enemy. From the camp we now occupy, and pos-
 “ sessing Gabel and Reichstadt, the convoy may go and re-
 “ turn in safety, as we are in a condition to sustain those of
 “ the posts. Should an enemy's corps encamp at Nimes,

“ we

" we can encamp a few battalions at Gabel ; and, in case it
" becomes necessary for me to pitch a camp towards the low
" grounds, I undertake to promise that the enemy shall not
" prevent me. But, I cannot engage that the roads from
" Zittau would then remain open ; and, supposing the ene-
" my to take only a single transport of flour, we shall want
" bread, which may have bad consequences.

" According to advices we have of the enemy, they are
" encamped between Liebenau and Swigan. Nadaſti's corps
" is advanced in front of this camp, and the corps under
" Moroez, near Nimes, pushes forward the advanced guard
" of Nadaſti. It seems to me that the greatest harm the ene-
" my can do us is to take our magazine. That of Silesia is
" covered by the fortrefs of Schweidnitz ; Zittau, then, re-
" mains for them to cast their eyes upon. If I keep firm
" with the army as I am, they will not venture to undertake
" any enterprize, as I shall be able to reach Zittau with
" them, or perhaps even get there before them. But, if I
" make a forward march, they have it in their power to
" advance a large body, and cover the former with their
" army.

" The want of forage will oblige me to quit the camp in
" eight days. I leave you, therefore, to deliberate whether
" I must advance or take a camp, fearing, as I do, to lose
" the communication with Zittau, or whether you wish me
" to return to that of Gabel, which is at no great distance,
" and by which I can still cover Zittau.

" The enemy's light troops but rarely shew themselves,
" the greatest mischief they do us is by intercepting our con-
" voys. Most of the regiments want oxen. General Goltz
" does every thing in his power to procure them by contri-
" butions, but these are little respected.

" The incorporation of the regiments, possibly, would be
" better executed when in garrison ; for, should it take
" place in the field, it is to be feared that many of the

“ soldiers would desert before they became known to their
“ officers.

“ I wait your orders on this head, and shall observe them
“ in every thing.

“ I have seen the augmentation of the regiments. The men
“ are fit for service, and tolerably well exercised. The horses
“ in general are young; those of the regiments of Kiow and
“ Schechow are in excellent condition. The regiment of
“ Wurtemberg is greatly deficient, and by no means in
“ proper order. Major Dalwitz is wounded and absent, so
“ that his regiment has neither colonel nor commanding
“ officer, which is the reason of their performing such
“ *charming* service at the commencement of the campaign.
“ I am, &c.”

The King's Answer.

“ Leutmeritz, 14 July.

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ I have received your letter of the 12th. If you retreat once
“ more, in a month's time you will have your back against
“ Berlin. The enemy does nothing but follow you. If you
“ continue to retire, you will be in want of forage, and
“ the will always take you in flank, on whatever
“ side you turn yourself. Nadaſti encamps at Gaſtorf, and
“ Daun at Nimes; we heard him beat his retreat. I see you
“ suffer yourself to be led away by intelligence which is
“ greatly magnified. You have provision waggons which
“ may bring you as much flour as you want. I find it more
“ proper and more necessary to detach a body of 5 or 6000
“ men to Schweidnitz, to cover the frontiers against the in-
“ roads of Keit. I shall regulate myself in this matter from
“ the advices I receive from you.

“ The incorporation of the Saxon regiments must take
“ place at the same time. Major Dalwitz is sick at Dres-
“ den. I will get him to return to his regiment. But

“ general

"general Putkammer must pay as much attention to this
"regiment as to his own.

"The enemy we have in these parts consist only in two
"regiments of hussars, two of cuirassiers, and four of Saxon
"dragoons, six battalions of Hungarian infantry, and about
"3000 Pandours. Laudohn is at Bascapol, with 1500 huf-
"sars and Pandours; and 7 or 800 men are sometimes at
"Kraupen, Zinwald, and Auffig, sometimes at Marien-
"schein and Schœenberg. Deduct all these from the corps
"which are said to be against you, and you will see that
"reports have swelled the number of the troops by which
"you are surrounded. I am, &c."

Letter from the King to the Prince of Prussia.

"Leutmeritz, 10 July.

"MY DEAR BROTHER

"Since yesterday evening, a large body of the enemy have
"appeared before us, and are encamped between Wegstadt
"and Sahurzan. I cannot tell you whether it be the whole
"army or not. They have detached a numerous corps to-
"wards Aufche, which seems to consist of about 4000 men.
"Teschén is their object, as far as I can judge. You are
"within reach of it, and can detach a corps by their rear,
"which I am unable to do from hence. It will be proper,
"therefore, to march a body of about 7 or 8000 men im-
"mediately, to frustrate the enterprizes of the enemy. I
"am, &c."

Answer of the Prince of Prussia to this Letter.

"Camp at Leypa, 13 July.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

"The light-horseman arrived safe here this night with
"your letter of the 10th. General Winterfeldt will march
"with seven battalions of dragoons and ten squadrons of

I i 2

"hussars,

“ hussars, as soon as the bread is baked. We hear that the
 “ roads to Budiffin are very bad, and that the cannon will
 “ not be able to pass. General Winterfeldt will march,
 “ therefore, to Kamnitz, and hopes to get the start of the
 “ corps, which, from the report of his spies, intend attack-
 “ ing Teschen and Pirna.

“ I have just received a letter from general Kreutz, and
 “ another from the minister Schlabrendorf, informing me
 “ that the enemy have taken Landshout. General Kreutz
 “ tells me that he retreated with the battalion to Schweid-
 “ nitz. I am unacquainted with the enemy's forces. The
 “ general refers to a letter he wrote, and which I have not re-
 “ ceived. To-morrow, the waggons, escorted by two batta-
 “ lions of the regiment of Zittau, will go in search of flour for
 “ nine days. Should you order me to march, it will be neces-
 “ sary to give me 36 hours notice, that I may send the wag-
 “ gons on before. I have at present 33 battalions, 35 squa-
 “ drons, and 15 squadrons of hussars, with me. I have re-
 “ ceived no intelligence of the enemy. We shall change our
 “ camp this afternoon, to fill up the vacancy occasioned
 “ by this detachment, and not to occupy too much ground.
 “ A trumpet, which at their desire we sent to-day with the
 “ baggage of general Treskow, and other officers, our pri-
 “ soners, is just returned. His receipt was signed by general
 “ Haddick, and dated from Neuschlofs. I am, &c.”

Letter from the King to the Prince of Prussia.

“ Leutmeritz, 23 July.

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ To enable you to form a judgment of what we both
 “ of us must execute, let me begin with describing to you
 “ our present situation.

“ You have marshal Daun against you; Nadaſti is opposed
 “ to me. Moroez may take you in flank; Keit, if he is
 “ detached,

“ detached, will march probably to Landshout. On the
 “ other hand, the Swedes are assembling an army of 17,000
 “ men near Stralsund.

“ The French have entered Hesse. Some letters inform
 “ me that 8000 men have passed the Weser, and are to be
 “ followed by 8000 more. These 16,000 men will join, I
 “ imagine, the troops of the empire, to carry on their opera-
 “ tions in the countries of Halberstadt and Magdebourg.

“ None of these events, undoubtedly, are favourable; but
 “ you must try to execute my commands successfully. As
 “ for you, it is absolutely necessary that you should cover
 “ Lusatia; for, if you fail in this particular point, a swarm
 “ of light troops, passing through Silesia, would carry fire
 “ and sword to the very gates of Berlin, as it would not be
 “ practicable for me to succour it in time. I do not attempt
 “ to prescribe to you the manner of executing this project.
 “ All this, indeed, is difficult; but consult your most intelli-
 “ gent generals, and always chuse the means best adapted to
 “ the circumstances. I leave you free both with respect to
 “ the posts you have to take and your marches.

“ As for me, my object is not to leave the mountains of
 “ Saxony, to cover my magazines, to have the free use of
 “ the Elbe, and to oppose the incursions of the French.
 “ With respect to Pomerania, I shall reinforce the garrison
 “ of Stettin with 5000 men. You must send off, as soon as
 “ possible, the regiment of Bevern to Stettin. I send there,
 “ at the same time, that of prince Maurice.

“ I add to, this the news I have just received, that the
 “ French have taken Embden, and marshal Leuwald in-
 “ forms me that he every moment expects to hear of the
 “ surrender of Memel, which is besieged by the Russians.
 “ Apraxin is intrenching himself near Kauen; the fleet
 “ and gallies have a design upon the coast.

“ How all this makes you lose courage! Now is the time
 to redouble our efforts. I am of opinion that we must

“ await our destiny in a decisive battle, which must be given
 “ on one side or the other as soon as possible. If that does
 “ not happen, both our armies will be lost before the end of
 “ the campaign. You will have seen, no doubt, by my last
 “ letter, in what manner I would have the regiments incor-
 “ porated. You have the regiments of Manstein and Wie-
 “ derheim, the battalion of grenadiers of Kallenberg, and
 “ those of Beer and Diezelsky, at your disposal. I allow
 “ the colonels to chuse from among the Saxon regiments
 “ the best ensigns and serjeants to incorporate with theirs.

“ Should marshal Daun encamp with his whole army op-
 “ posite to me, you may detach 8 or 10 battalions and hus-
 “ sars into Silesia, and cover those mountains, but especially
 “ the town of Schweidnitz. In case of need, flour may be
 “ sent there for a month, from the magazine of Dresden.
 “ You are at present provided with it until the 12th of
 “ August, and you may thus become furnished even till
 “ the 12th of September.

“ These continual retrograde movements are good for
 “ nothing in the long run; you will always want forage,
 “ bread, and other provisions, and lose as many men by de-
 “ sertion as by fighting the enemy. In conjunctures so de-
 “ sperate as ours, desperate measures must be adopted.”

Postscript in the King's own hand.

“ You must always turn towards the grand army: if they
 “ detach a corps into Silesia, do the same; and should they
 “ march towards Silesia, and leave a corps in Lusatia, follow
 “ their example.”

The affair of Gabel and the disagreeable circumstances which followed it, so affected the prince royal, that he fell ill in camp, from whence he retired to Leipzig. From that period he took no part in affairs.

His melancholy and his disorder encreasing daily, he was
 advised

advised to have himself conveyed to Berlin, in hopes that he might recover his health, on being restored to his family. The physicians were deceived, and he continued to avoid all society. In the beginning of May, 1758, he retired to Orangebourg, where he died the 12th of June of the same year. Some time before his death, it is said that he wrote the following letter to the king.

Letter from the Prince of Prussia, dying, to the King, his Brother.

“SIRE,

“I have but twenty-four hours to live; the physicians
 “have just announced it to me: this was not the worst
 “news I could receive. Wearied of hoping and of fearing,
 “wearied of offering up vows which are the sport of fortune, I regard with some satisfaction my approaching
 “transition to a new manner of existence. Its obscurity,
 “which is all we know of it, inspires me with confidence.
 “In the one supposition I may gain, in the other I can lose
 “nothing. Should the dissolution of this frame restore me
 “to the different elements, the emanation of which I cannot
 “mistake in my person, the alternative is annihilation. This
 “prospect has nothing painful in it for a man whose life was
 “filled with bitterness and chagrin: if, on the contrary,
 “that portion of myself, which I feel superior to my infirmities, shall not suffer decomposition; if there be in me a
 “soul which shall survive the body, it will preserve, doubtless, that sentiment which was the dearest to it, and I shall
 “be happy.

“To think, and to love you, sire; habit has rendered the
 “one as necessary to me as the other was by nature. In the
 “new order of things to which my soul must pass, it will
 “retain this double activity as part of its essence. The happiness of your people, the glory of your reign, your affection for your family, will constitute a portion of that
 “felicity.

" felicity. I already have a foretaste of this wonderful re-
 " volution. The moment which is about to remove me
 " for ever from your sight will restore me to the honour of
 " your good graces. The rights of the heir will no longer
 " militate in your heart against those of the brother; the
 " policy of the prince will no longer stifle fraternal tender-
 " nefs: your majesty will grant me every thing, when I shall
 " have nothing more to claim. I carry with me to the tomb
 " the delicious sentiment of this return. Why have not I
 " the power of changing your fortune, as surely as your
 " heart?

" Suffer me, sire, suffer me to enjoy before-hand the plea-
 " sure of being cherished by your majesty. Permit me to
 " anticipate my funeral, and to figure to myself that I am
 " admitted into your council; that the assistants have a re-
 " spect for my person, confidence in my rectitude, and defe-
 " rence for my opinions. You cannot be alarmed at the
 " share a dead man may have in your glory. The prepos-
 " session, sire, is in your favour, and the superiority of your
 " genius is too well established for it ever to be credited that
 " you are indebted to my counsels for the happy consequences
 " of the deference which you might pay them.

" In these critical hours, when I am striving to collect and
 " exalt all the faculties of my soul for a last operation, I nei-
 " ther can nor will descend to my personal grievances. I
 " leave to my children the sad satisfaction of hearing you
 " regret having done me justice too late. I leave my bro-
 " thers Henry and Ferdinand the task of marking out the
 " distance which you should always observe between the
 " princes of your blood and the rest of your subjects. Your
 " courtiers of themselves will do me justice. They have
 " despised me; they have even dared publicly to display their
 " contempt. When time shall have consoled them for the
 " expence of mourning, which I willingly would spare
 " them, they will acknowledge my wrongs and their own
 " misconduct.

“misconduct. Perhaps, fire, I shall be but too much avenged by my children, by my brothers, by your friends. I foresee it. It is in vain I wish to exist only in your majesty’s remembrance. Yes, fire, the regret of my brother would suffice to expiate in my eyes the deficiencies of my king; I would willingly leave posterity in an error with respect to me.

“But in vain do I wish to give flight to my imagination; the slow fever which consumes me does not sufficiently fire my blood to produce disorder in my brain. My ideas arrange themselves; they collect themselves into order. My sight is strong enough to follow Phaëton in his meridian course. Far from being dazzled by the rays which surround him, I behold with a steady eye the progress of his discomfiture, the false paths he traces, the indocility of his horses, and his own embarrassment. It is only by ceasing to reason that I tear myself from the sad spectacle of his downfall, and the misfortunes of his family.

“Your majesty disdained my presages. Like another Cassandra, I have seen the court and the army insult the genius that inspired me. Deign to listen to me, fire, now that I can no longer be suspected of illusion or interest in my predictions.

“*Fuimus Troës. Fuit Ilium.* . . . It is all over, fire, with the power and the house of Prussia, if you continue to brave all Europe conspired against you. I will allow you to be superior to all the kings so famous by their brilliant career. I consent, that, with the same destiny as theirs, you should have the advantage of being less renowned by your fall, than by the great strokes you shall have made before you sunk. Yes, fire, it is derogatory from your glory to compare you with the warlike kings of Sweden. Your forces are greater than those of Gustavus-Adolphus; you possess more knowledge and prudence than Charles-Gustavus; your talents are more diversified than those of

“Charles

" Charles XII. Yet your horoscope is more sinister than
 " theirs. The first prevented by his death the inconstancy
 " of fortune; the second died with chagrin on the point of
 " humiliation; the latter survived both his grandeur and
 " his glory. Their cause had not the disadvantages of yours.
 " Charles XII. defended himself; you have attacked. His
 " enemies attempted to enfeeble him; yours have the right
 " to ruin you. His enemies demanded indulgence from him;
 " you stand in need of indulgence from yours. He had to
 " avenge himself; you are an object of vengeance. His
 " person was dreaded by his adversaries; their resentment
 " was disarmed by his death: the power and the house of
 " Prussia are the objects of hatred and apprehension; their
 " enemies can only be appeased by the destruction of the
 " one and the abasement of the other. Charles marched
 " against three sovereigns who had defied him; you force
 " all Europe to arm against you. Princes are leagued against
 " your majesty from justice and from interest; nations at-
 " tach to your destruction the restoration of peace, the honour
 " of sovereignty, the safety of monarchical government.
 " The admiration inspired by your great actions, is a dream
 " followed by dread and sorrow. The world reads in your
 " successes the thralldom of the human race, the annihilation
 " of laws, and the degradation of society.

" You have sufficiently esteemed me, sire, not to restrain
 " my way of thinking respecting your apologies. Now
 " less than ever am I to be dazzled by sophisms. Before I
 " took upon me to judge my brother and my king, I have
 " always considered his interest in every point of view; my
 " inclination was very remote from leading me to judge him
 " with rigour. In my resemblance to the late king, with
 " which I have so often been reproached at your court, I do
 " not except his resentment against the house of Austria, by
 " whom that prince thought he had been deceived. Yes,
 " sire, I have wished, as ardently as your majesty, to erase
 " from

“from the list of great powers, that which penetrated the
“designs and hopes of our house, and was the best enabled
“to counteract them. There is not an officer in the Prussian
“armies who would have mounted the trenches so gaily as
“myself before the walls of Vienna. But I have always
“been of opinion that a political should never be so impe-
“tuous as a personal hatred; that it ought never to seek sa-
“tisfaction with equal arms; that mildness, as well as the
“art of triumphing, consisted in the art of reserving them
“for the proper occasion without risk. This, sire, is the
“opinion which has raised that wall of separation between
“us which death is about to overthrow.

“I applauded your majesty’s general plan on your accession
“to the throne. The power of Prussia, which had at-
“tained consistency by a taste for œconomy and the military,
“must likewise be nourished and augmented by the same
“means, carried to its period by arms, supported by intrigue
“and address, and by not too scrupulous a policy. You were
“your own model. Holland, Sweden, and Savoy, the only
“powers who, in fact, have raised themselves by dint of
“arms, bore no resemblance to Prussia, and, therefore, could
“not be supposed to furnish you with examples. You were
“obliged to devise your own means of execution. Had I
“lived three years less, I should not have known, that, as
“the vigour of your imagination exhibited every point be-
“fore you upon a great scale, you would not succeed in com-
“paring and distributing the details.

“I beheld with joy, but without surprise, the happy fruits
“of your skilful operations during the pragmatic war. You
“always timed your resolutions well. If you had not
“trusted to France, whom you had deceived, all your mea-
“sures would have been correct. That fault you repaired
“by force of genius and of courage. Your successes were
“due to your capacity. But, by wishing to make too great
“a display of your importance, you laid yourself entirely
“open.

“ open. With your character all the springs of your policy
“ were disclosed.

“ When, at the peace of Dresden, every movement of the
“ machine had been played off, you seemed to have con-
“ demned yourself to leave it in repose until time should have
“ cast a veil over the mechanism, or until circumstances,
“ artfully brought about, should permit you to expect every
“ thing from force, independently of surprise.

“ At the peace of Aix la Chapelle, which cemented the
“ union of Silesia with the Prussian crown, I was thoroughly
“ convinced that your majesty had concluded performing the
“ part of a conqueror. Hence, fire, arose the joy I expe-
“ rienced on seeing you bestow your whole time on the in-
“ ternal administration, and become the legislator of your
“ dominions. Hence my chagrin and murmurs on seeing
“ you renounce this glorious career to return to that from
“ which you had, by your own act, excluded yourself.

“ When your majesty entered Silesia, in 1740, with a
“ powerful army, to preserve, as a deposit, that rich province
“ for the heirs of Charles VI. against the Infants of Spain,
“ and other claimants not yet declared, you exhibited a
“ master-stroke of policy becoming the house of Prussia.
“ Prepared for every event, you remained in readiness to
“ embrace the part that might be best adapted to circum-
“ stances. You had it in your power to appropriate that
“ fine province to yourself, if the co-heirs proved powerful
“ enough to dismember the succession ; and you could equally
“ make a merit of restoring it to the heirs, should she be
“ sufficiently in force to wrest it from you. In this second
“ case, the same stroke remained still in reserve for you for
“ the first occasion ; and the prejudices of the public would
“ have been in your favour from this instance of good
“ faith. But, in the former case, where the mine was dis-
“ covered by the success of the explosion, you should have
“ renounced all use of it in future. Even children do not
“ suffer

“suffer themselves to be caught a second time in the same
“snare.

“It was this, sire, that I had the honour of representing
“to you on your first march towards Saxony. It suited you
“to demand, nay even to extort a passage for your armies
“across that electorate. But, after ascertaining the neu-
“trality of the king-elect, you should have marched di-
“rectly to the Austrian army. Success was indubitable:
“you would have dispersed those numerous bands, not yet
“accustomed to hold together; you would have overrun
“Bohemia like a conqueror, and the empress would have
“trembled for Vienna.

“This noble and undisguised proceeding would have dis-
“concerted the intrigues of your enemies, given a favour-
“able omen of your good faith, and persuaded all Europe
“that you only took up arms to counteract the measures
“of a power which was plotting your destruction.

“You know, sire, the impressions made by the conduct
“which you held, on seeing the false friend, of his own ac-
“cord, erecting himself into the protector of his equal,
“then assuming the character of master, and a few days
“after publicly announcing the premeditated usurpation of
“his states. Sovereigns and nations observed to each other,
“Behold him again playing his usual game! I ventured at
“the time to ask your majesty who were your allies, and en-
“deavoured to point out to you wherein the measures which
“you were pursuing seemed to me ill combined and unstable.
“Hitherto the event has but too well justified my fatal con-
“jectures.

“France, after revenging herself in 1744 for your private
“treaty of 1742, would, possibly, have still run the risk of
“putting you to a fresh trial, had she discovered any re-
“formation in your principles. She had forgotten the
“haughtiness of count Schmettau, and the interest of the
“moment would, perhaps, have led her to dissemble the im-
“perious

" perious tone of your solicitations against conferring the
 " royalty of the Romans on an archduke. But she has seen
 " you in an instant pass from one extreme to another, and sa-
 " crifice your connections with her to a sudden reconcilia-
 " tion with the elector of Hanover. She has seen you sti-
 " pulate articles with England, which, in their execution,
 " surpassed your power, and the advantages arising from
 " which could only be momentary for the house of Prussia.
 " Was any thing more required to convince her that you did
 " not propose acting a more scrupulous part in this war than
 " in the last? There is not an example, for a century past,
 " wherein France has been played upon with impunity: she
 " is totally alienated from you; she has even begun to fear
 " you; she has made a defensive alliance with your enemy.
 " When the glory of her king was committed in the op-
 " pression of the house of Saxony, she hated you. The in-
 " sults, in short, which you have offered her ambassador,
 " and another of her ministers, the defeat of her army at
 " Rosbach, and your railleries on the disgraces of the suc-
 " cessors of marshal d'Etrées, exclude all hopes of reconcili-
 " ation with her. She has the public quarrel to maintain,
 " and her own honour to avenge.

" Your majesty might, indeed, reckon on some princes of
 " the empire attached by blood to the royal house of Prussia,
 " and on others who are tempted by your subsidies, or inti-
 " midated by your proximity. You also concluded that ad-
 " vantages might be drawn from the fanaticism of the people
 " for the established religion of your states. The
 " invasion of Saxony, the oppression of the states of Anhalt
 " and of Mecklenbourg, the approach of the French armies,
 " your too well known indifference for all religious worship,
 " destroyed those expectations. Even your brothers-in-law
 " have entered into the league against you; they voted for
 " your proscription. The Germanic body hate you as
 " much as you expected them to fear you; they believe
 " their

“ their liberty and welfare to depend on the ruin of your
“ power.

“ Sweden, enlightened with respect to her real interests,
“ has penetrated the views of her king, and disconcerted
“ your artful intrigues. She reclaims the spoils wrested
“ from her by your predecessor. Denmark beholds, with a
“ tranquil and contented eye, the power of Prussia on the
“ point of returning to its former mediocrity, and Europe
“ disposed to receive her interposition for the settlement of a
“ new equilibrium in the north.

“ Poland does not pardon you, sire, the purchase and the
“ study of marshal Saxe's reveries. She supposes you to
“ have views ; she wishes the destruction of that Prussian
“ infantry, whose posts the marshal marks out in the king-
“ dom and in the grand duchy ; she wishes to see disabled
“ from injuring her, the prince the most capable of enjoying
“ and executing the plan of the conquest.

“ Russia is persuaded that your designs on her induced you,
“ in the representations you made to the court of Vienna, to
“ substitute a truce for two years in the place of a solemn
“ treaty of peace. She imagines that you wished to tie up
“ the hands of the empress-queen from succouring her ally ;
“ that a war with her was the principal object of your in-
“ trigues in Sweden ; that Courland is a tempting object ;
“ that Polish Prussia and Pomerania would be very accepta-
“ ble to you, and that you apprehended the greatest obstacle
“ from her to this plan of rounding your dominions : she
“ imagines herself, in short, not less interested in your hu-
“ miliation than the house of Austria.

“ The republic of the United Provinces is not yet recon-
“ ciled to the journey you made into Holland. She enjoys
“ your embarrassment ; nor is she ignorant, that, in default
“ of the enemies you have stirred up against yourself, it is es-
“ sential to her security to find employment for you.

“ The powers of Italy, out of reach of the present dan-
“ ger,

ger, direct their speculations to the future. They anticipate the overthrow of the Germanic equilibrium; they suppose your superiority in this war, the transfer of the Imperial sceptre to another house, and look forward, with horror, to the despotism of the Othos. Too remote from you to strike in concert with your enemies, they encourage them to unite their forces against your majesty; they undertake to prevent diversions; they approach in order to support them, and to afford them the means of rallying in case of a reverse.

Hanover and England; these, then, sire, are all your allies. Your common interest with the former does not stand the proof; you have seen it at Closter-Seven. A fresh campaign of marshal d'Etrées, or of any other general but Richelieu, may again reduce your ally to the same terms.

The Englishman is geographer enough to know the little communication there is between the Oder and the Ohio. He leans upon your majesty for support; he will abandon you, sire, the moment you begin to lean on him.

All these combinations of circumstances, sire, are wholly independent of fortune. Deduced as they are from the order and nature of things, they cannot be gained but by miracles. You can only fix your expectations upon your own powers, and they bear no proportion to those of your enemies. Europe is too enlightened, its courts are too much habituated to affairs, to be imposed upon by any of those strokes of genius, which, in the darker ages, overturned nations. The ground will always be disputed with you, inch by inch, in the field as well as in the cabinet. Your profound policy will be reduced to little intrigues, easy to unveil, and no sooner discovered than destroyed.

What have all the enterprizes of this kind hitherto produced

"duced your majesty? The more clearly you have proved
 "your knowledge of the designs of Saxony, the more odious
 "have you rendered that invasion. The world has seen,
 "that, to procure this information, your minister Malzahn
 "had degraded his character, and that, after making use of
 "means proscribed in society, the following is the amount
 "of your discovery: that the elector of Saxony was not fond
 "of the Prussian power, which he dreaded, without even
 "daring to attempt to defend himself against it. Papers
 "clandestinely obtained operate against the accuser who
 "produces them, if they do not fully ascertain the imputed
 "crime.

"The corruption of a minister, the treason of a general,
 "cannot long be hidden: the minister is removed, the ge-
 "neral recalled, and their criminality guides the sovereign
 "to a better choice.

"Your majesty's confidence in these petty resources carries
 "with itself a conviction of the insufficiency of other means.
 "And, in fact, sire, what can you, in the long run, expect
 "from two hundred thousand soldiers, whom you are afraid
 "to lead to any distance, and one half of whom you are
 "obliged to have watched by the other in your camps? I
 "would undertake to perform more with fifty thousand vo-
 "lunteers, whose hearts should be with you as well as their
 "arms. It was with such an army that Gustavus-Adolphus
 "overran Germany, and that Charles XII. postponed for
 "nine years his catastrophe. It is with such a chosen body
 "that you would march from Breslaw to Vienna as easily as
 "from Rosbach to Lissa; in lieu of which, your mass of
 "soldiers, gathered together without choice, and united
 "without affection, invariably move and operate so slowly
 "as to give the enemy who are at hand time enough to dis-
 "engage the corps which is engaged with them.

"Sire, would to God I may be deceived! Heaven grant
 "the fortune of your arms to be invariable! You

“ will make peace ; you will not be less exhausted than your
 “ enemies ; you will have done yourself justice on the subject
 “ of your alarms ; you will return triumphant into the pos-
 “ session of your states, and Europe will have seen how
 “ powerful you are, how redoubtable in arms. So much
 “ glory and good fortune, which I wish you with the sin-
 “ cerest ardor, but dare not hope, will only render your ruin
 “ and the destruction of your house more certain, if you
 “ suffer the peril of your neighbours, and the prejudices of
 “ the public, to subsist. . . .

• “ But, why should your majesty await a period whose
 “ existence is so very doubtful, to secure your glory, the
 “ safety of your dominions, the happiness of your people ?
 “ Deign to consider, sire, the conditions of a peace which
 “ should be dictated by the powers leagued against you after
 “ decisive victories.

“ The house of Saxony alone could overwhelm you by its
 “ pretensions. Superior to all your enemies, you still owe
 “ them compensations. What will be the case, should they
 “ be able to recur to equal justice ? Will your dear Silesia
 “ repay the empress-queen for her alarms, her losses, and all
 “ the blood that has been spilt ? The empire will make you
 “ expiate the infraction of the treaties of Westphalia, by the
 “ forfeiture of the acquisitions they adjudged you. The
 “ Germanic body will strip your electorate of its prerogatives,
 “ to avenge the princes and the states whose privileges you
 “ have insulted.

“ Will Russia be contented with having gratuitously con-
 “ tributed to the restoration of the equilibrium ? Will Swe-
 “ den sit down with the expences of her armaments ? What
 “ satisfaction will not France exact ? Culpable in the opi-
 “ nion of all the sovereigns, condemned by all the nations of
 “ Europe, you will have been superior to other men only on
 “ account of the misfortune of your subjects and the ruin of
 “ your house.

“ Ah !

" Ah ! fire, how contented I should die, could I but per-
 " suade myself that you would deign to view this hideous
 " prospect ! But a few days before the battle of Pultawa,
 " Charles XII. still refused to treat, except at Moscow, con-
 " cerning the peace offered him by the Czar, and *very* soon
 " after he was a fugitive in Crimea. Before a check renders
 " your enemies deaf to your propositions ; before the action
 " of all your forces exerted to the utmost, renders your ruin
 " inevitable ; suffer yourself to be prevailed upon, by the
 " interest of your glory, by that of your house, by the wishes
 " of your people, by the prayers of a brother, who dies de-
 " voted to God and you."

*Answer of the King of Prussia to the dying Letter of the Prince
 his Brother.*

" You give me melancholy news, my dear brother, pre-
 " cisely at a conjuncture when my distance from you ren-
 " ders it impossible to prove to you my real tenderness. I
 " hope, however, that you will receive this answer time
 " enough to prevent you from being frightened by the ora-
 " cles of your physicians. We shall still converse together
 " on that transition we cannot make without a dissolution of
 " the frame, and on the consequences concerning which you
 " reason too connectedly to be so near your end as you ima-
 " gine. Yes, you will be restored to the wishes of your bro-
 " ther and your king, and I shall be happier than you.

" To love you, my dear brother, is as natural to me, as it
 " is for kings to study the hearts of their presumptive heirs
 " before they resign themselves to an entire confidence : the
 " glory of their reign, the duration of their empire, the
 " happiness of their people, are interested in this search. I
 " was joyfully anticipating the delicious satisfaction of being
 " able to open myself to you respecting the vast springs I
 " have put in motion to plunge Europe into this war ; my
 " brother was becoming my counsellor and confidant ; I was

“ about to enjoy the fruit of his great and profound qualities,
“ when he announces to me that he is surrounded by the
“ symptoms of death. Judge, then, my beloved brother,
“ whether, in my grief, it be possible for me to answer you
“ with a sound and correct judgment.

“ It is in this critical moment, however, that I endeavour
“ to collect all the faculties of my soul to prove to you the
“ truth of my sentiments, and the estimation in which I hold
“ you.

“ I have never wished to conduct the chariot of the sun,
“ but I have undertaken to elevate a Roman causeway, which
“ should open to me a sure and easy road to penetrate, with
“ celerity, into the heart of the dominions of my avowed and
“ secret enemies, and to oblige them to remain quiet, either
“ by seeking my friendship, or by dreading my power. In
“ this I have not been too scrupulous about the means. My
“ former successes in the preceding war emboldened me. I
“ have precipitated myself, I own it, into a sea of contra-
“ dictions ; however, if I have not attacked with that jus-
“ tice which every one boasts of, and which no one power
“ takes for a standard of its measures more literally than my-
“ self, I have at least attacked with prudence and with va-
“ lour two implacable enemies, notwithstanding their pro-
“ fessions to the contrary. I cannot be suspected of illusion,
“ yet I am convicted of double dealing: this does not apply
“ happily to the refuter of Machiavel.

“ I thought to draw France into my projects ; she was deaf
“ to my propositions : I have deceived her ; I felt more rea-
“ son to look for her resentment, than her accession to my
“ views. Invariable in her thirst for being superior to all
“ other crowns, she availed herself of the rights of her
“ guaranty of the peace of Westphalia, when I presumed that
“ she would content herself with being a simple spectator of
“ events. I answered the duke de Nivernois with the lofti-
“ ness that became my rank ; I expected from Heaven more
“ pro-

“ protection in favour of the greatness of my designs ; I had
“ meditated them with a coolness which Charles XII. never
“ possessed, and I should have profited by them, had the fate
“ of arms decided in my favour. He ran across deserts, to
“ revenge himself of Peter the Great ; I never would have
“ traversed the forests of Volhinia, to punish the Grand
“ Turk for refusing my alliance. What I repent is, the not
“ having imitated Gustavus - Adolphus : one circumstance
“ alone prevented me ; he perished victoriously and fatally at
“ Leutzen. . . . But I am still living ; every thing, there-
“ fore, is not lost, my dear brother ; honour remains with the
“ firmness of a friend : I see things as they are. Should
“ Heaven preserve you to my tenderness, I will profit by your
“ counsels and my own reverses ; I will take a part worthy
“ of us both. It would be dangerous to commit it to paper ;
“ it concerns both you and your children : I must, therefore,
“ envelop my resolutions in secrecy ; your recovery cannot
“ be too speedy. At that happy moment, I will discover to
“ you my most secret thoughts ; it is then you will experi-
“ ence my perfect confidence. You are pleased to recollect
“ that I occupied myself, during peace, with the happiness of
“ my subjects : to secure that, it was necessary to have a nu-
“ merous soldiery, capable of keeping in awe jealous neigh-
“ bours, and a rigid œconomy, by which alone it could be
“ maintained. If I have reassumed the character of con-
“ queror, it was to protect my new possessions from being re-
“ conquered. I might, in truth, have pursued a more mode-
“ rate conduct towards Saxony ; but her hatred would not
“ have been diminished ; she would have turned my huma-
“ nity against me. I am neither in the right, nor in the
“ wrong : your reflections on my manner of commencing
“ the war, do not prevent the rival house from having taught
“ us, that to subjugate and destroy the enemy is the surest
“ and shortest road. This is her principle, from which she
“ will never depart till she is compelled to it : I have adopted

“ it like her ; I have taken from her the alliance of England ;
 “ she has stolen from me that of France : as for grievances,
 “ we are on a par. When your health shall be restored, you
 “ will be less severe, and will appreciate, with more cir-
 “ cumpection, the great motives of the resolutions of kings.
 “ You are born to become one ; a few jokes will escape you,
 “ perhaps, after a victory some day, as well as me ; like
 “ mine, they will be unseasonable ; yet they will only prove
 “ the fragility of every man’s self-love.

“ Do not give so tragical a turn to every circumstance :
 “ I shall appease the princes to whom you advert : I wanted
 “ to subjugate them ; I will caress them ; they will harass
 “ me no longer, they will return to me. I have never copied
 “ any man’s reveries ; every one conceives the resolution
 “ of copying mine. With respect to Sweden, she is losing
 “ herself : Denmark, more prudent, procures payment for
 “ furnishing her quota of soldiers and of sailors ; she is lying
 “ in wait for the critical moment. You do not know Po-
 “ land ; she is absorbed by her intestine wars : she hates no-
 “ body but the Russian, because she is tired of fearing him.
 “ It is indifferent to her, whether Courland be in my hands
 “ or in those of the republic. As for the Dutch, I am not
 “ uneasy about them ; they are divided ; and this circum-
 “ stance is sufficient : three opposing parties never formed
 “ a strong resolution. I am obliged to them for their po-
 “ liteness ; I expect nothing from their zeal ; I apprehend
 “ nothing from their arms. You set the Italians upon
 “ thinking : there are no longer any but at Rome, Venice,
 “ and Turin ; they will not trouble themselves about me.
 “ Hanover and London, there is my department ! Hanover
 “ is the seat of gold, London the seat of the sign of gold ;
 “ I realize the latter. It is thus that, in spite of the distance,
 “ I have found the method of making the Ohio remount even
 “ to the Thames, from the Thames to the Lena, and from
 “ the Lena to the banks of the Oder and the Sprée. This
 “ geography

“ geography is not the very worst. My soldiers are my
“ children. Subjects, or strangers, I cherish them alike.
“ They know I am their father ; I occupy myself in nothing
“ but their preservation ; I share danger and my riches with
“ them in the established proportion.

“ Adieu, my dear brother ; comfort yourself with respect
“ to the situation of our house ; receive my embraces ; I have
“ no other pleasure in reigning but to transmit to you a
“ crown worthy of your virtues. You will make them one
“ day shine upon the throne ; hand them down to the latest
“ posterity of your descendants. It is thus that, after plunging
“ me into affliction by your disorder, you will give me the
“ liveliest joy. Live ; love me as I love you ; I have nothing
“ more to wish for.

“ From my camp at Littau.”

*Extract of the Correspondence between the King of Prussia and
General De la Motte Fouquet.*

The king sent him, on the 23d of December, 1758, an excellent memoir, intitled, *Reflections on some Changes to be introduced in the Art of making War* ; to which he added the following letter and a pecuniary present.

“ I transmit to you, my dear friend, the widow’s mite.
“ Receive it with as good a heart as that with which I send
“ it. I annex, also, some reflections, which are the fruit I
“ gathered in my last campaign. From appearances, the
“ winter quarters will be quiet. The enemy makes no
“ shew of wishing to trouble us. I do not think the same
“ with respect to prince Ferdinand. But let us leave the
“ future under the veil with which Providence has thought
“ proper to conceal it, and speak of the present. Be persuaded of the friendship and esteem I shall retain for you to
“ the end of my life. Adieu.

“ FREDERICK.”

Second Letter from the King to General Fouquet.

“ Breslaw, 9 January, 1759.

“ I am not so rich as you imagine, my dear friend ; but,
 “ by dint of industry and resources, I have found my supplies
 “ for the next campaign, so that every thing will be exactly
 “ paid from hence to the end of February. I have shared with
 “ you and two other friends what remained at my disposal ;
 “ you should compare me, therefore, to the poor Iru rather
 “ than to the opulent Cræsus. I thank you for your an-
 “ swer to the military reflections I sent you. I think with
 “ you ; but, we must not let a word of all this escape us. The
 “ Turks are growing active ; they will not long remain with
 “ their arms across. The king of Spain is dying. Here is
 “ employment for the cowardly conspirators who are la-
 “ bouring to ruin me. If the people without hats turn
 “ against the barbarians (the Russians), all that tribe will
 “ disappear, and Sweden consequently give up the game ; if
 “ they point towards our insolent neighbours, they will not
 “ be able vigorously to oppose me and the circumcised at
 “ the same time : and, besides all this, should the king of
 “ Spain die, war will soon be lighted up in Italy, and our
 “ foolish and mad countrymen must quarrel with their inso-
 “ lent and haughty tyrants. All this prevents me, at pre-
 “ sent, from forming a plan of operations. Time will re-
 “ veal what is to happen ; we must see the measures our ene-
 “ mies will take, and then look to what is necessary to be
 “ done. Adieu, my dear friend ; I wish you health and pros-
 “ perity this new year. I embrace you with all my heart,
 “ assuring you of my tenderness and esteem, which will fi-
 “ nish only with my life.”

Third Letter to the same.

“ Polkain, 3d —, 1759.

“ An idea has occurred to me, which I will communicate
 “ to you just as it originated in my brain, to see if there be
 “ means

" means of carrying it into execution. Here it is. You
 " observe the number of enemies which I have upon my
 " hands, and the forces they are collecting. They defer at-
 " tacking me, probably because the season is not sufficiently
 " advanced. This gives me the desire, if it be possible, of
 " deranging their projects, either on one side or the other.
 " In truth, I can do nothing here, but drive some of them
 " from their posts to a certain distance, yet not destroy their
 " magazines. This has given me an idea of acting in Upper
 " Silesia, and of ruining their magazines of Troppau and
 " of Hoff. I beg you to give me your opinion. You have
 " 15 battalions; to them I could add six or seven regiments
 " of cavalry. Give me your opinion; for, I have no
 " particular information of the Austrians on your side.
 " Could this be effected, we should gain two or three months
 " repose in that quarter, which would be a great matter, and
 " we should revenge certain efforts which I have still at
 " heart. Your answer will determine my resolution, which
 " may be very speedy. Adieu, my dear friend; I embrace
 " you.

" FREDERICK."

Fourth Letter from the King to the same.

" Buntzlau, 3d April.

" I have taken, my dear friend, all the arrangements you
 " propose to me. Ramin will be in the afternoon at Warta,
 " and general Seidlitz, with five regiments of cavalry, in the
 " environs of Frankenstein, from whence he will write you,
 " and by which place we shall be able to get all the news of
 " what is passing. I do not think the enemy will attempt
 " any thing on the side of Landshout, unless I weaken myself
 " too much. To say the truth, the season is too little advan-
 " ced for acting: but, if I can only now succeed in getting
 " the start of the enemy in his projects, it will be so much
 " gained.

“gained. It remains to be seen how we shall extricate our-
 “selves. The French, the Austrians, and the troops of the
 “empire, have been driven from Franconia; prince Fer-
 “dinand will push them briskly. This will tranquillize
 “us for our right; we shall see how the left will acquit
 “itself. We must be very alert, and compass our move-
 “ments, to avoid being anticipated and discovered inopportu-
 “nely. Adieu, my dear friend; I embrace you. When
 “will this life of a dog finish?

“FREDERICK.”

Fifth Letter.

“6 April.

“You give me a *Norman* answer, my dear friend. I ask
 “you whether any thing is to be done on your side, and you
 “refer me to an expedition towards Trautenau, where, most
 “certainly, no considerable exploits are to be achieved.
 “Well, then, when I have driven them from thence, what
 “shall I gain by it? Where shall I find subsistence? That
 “country is eaten up, and there is no foraging there yet.
 “How are we to live, how receive straw, oats, hay, and all
 “the devils, by these cursed mountains? There’s the rub.
 “You will oblige me by resolving this difficulty. Adieu,
 “my dear friend; I embrace you.

“FREDERICK.”

Sixth Letter.

“8 April.

“I have received your answer, my dear friend. I agree
 “with you that the expedition is difficult and uncertain;
 “but, on the other hand, I find it so necessary that I can-
 “not neglect it. It must be undertaken to prevent the ene-
 “my from casting the rope about our own necks. I will
 “furnish you with five battalions and the necessary artillery,
 “as well as pontons. At Wendessen you will point out
 “every

" every thing you want. You must take the regiment of
 " Bornstedt, Mosel, and Brunswick, and all the rabble with
 " you. I have five regiments of cavalry ready, but which
 " you can only employ in passing the Oppa, and in blocking
 " Troppau and Jægerndorf, and which you must not take
 " with you on the side of the Mora, where you could make
 " no use of them. Treskow may also be included in this
 " expedition, more especially as it will serve to cover his
 " fortress. As soon as I shall have your answer from Wen-
 " deffen, I will put every thing in motion; and the moment
 " your corps shall be assembled, you have nothing to do but
 " to begin your operations; for, I will tell you further, that,
 " when this is finished, I shall recall the regiments as well as
 " the cannon I have lent you, to attempt the same thing from
 " hence on Nachod. You have 25,000 men over against
 " you: we have nearly the same number: if we can drive
 " off these and their dragoons, Daun will be obliged to alter
 " his whole plan. This is our object; besides that on what-
 " ever side he shall then turn himself, I shall be able to fol-
 " low him, which I could not do at present without aban-
 " doning all Silesia. Adieu, my dear friend. Make all
 " your arrangements; give me a speedy answer; and as for
 " what concerns me, I will equally serve you with the
 " greatest vigilance. I embrace you.

" FREDERICK."

Seventh Letter.

" Landshout, 22 April.

" I must make you master, my dear friend, of our present
 " situation. My brother Henry has driven the enemy before
 " him; he has taken vast Austrian magazines, &c. This
 " has so deranged the Pope's holy general *, that he has de-

* Marshal Daun is often designated by the king *the Pope's holy general*,
the man with the papal hat, *the blessed creature*, &c. on account of the
 hat and sword given him by Clement XIII.

" tached

"tached Harfch with 16 battalions towards Leutmeritz.
 "My brother is now going to march against the troops of
 "the circles towards Bamberg; and as for us, though my
 "position does not allow me to do great things, I believe
 "that, every point well considered, we may possibly make
 "an excursion, and drive the Austrians from Nachod and
 "Braunau. Tell me, I beg of you, what you think of it;
 "and, if you are of my opinion, you must, my dear friend,
 "second me in this enterprize, in which I can principally
 "employ no person but you. Send a speedy answer. Adieu.
 "FREDERICK."

Eighth Letter.

"Landshout, 25 April.

"I have received your answer, my dear friend. Since I
 "wrote to you, things have changed; Beck, who was at
 "Bergitz and Braunau, has marched in haste with his corps
 "towards Prague, so that there are but few troops in these
 "vicinities. Notwithstanding, if we turn Braunau, Politz,
 "and Nachod, we shall oblige Laudohn to make considerable
 "movements, and perhaps throw him entirely behind us;
 "after which, we may return at pleasure. If you bring me
 "three battalions, two from Mosel, and another, these
 "will be as many as we want. I have four at Frankenstein,
 "four at Warta, Arnheim, and Glatz. This is all that will
 "be necessary with Le Noble. The regiment of dragoons
 "of Wirtemberg, and five squadrons of Mœhring, may
 "join us. At present it is impossible to pass by the roads of
 "Gersdorf and Tanhausen, but in seven or eight days they
 "will be better. I am of opinion, then, that, if you send
 "two battalions against Braunau, whilst we are marching by
 "St. John's, (that will be sufficient to drive a thousand
 "Pandours,) and you proceed directly forwards to Nachod,
 "the battalions of Braunau will then turn the post of
 "Bergitz, and may advance as far as Politz. This will
 "procure

“procure us prisoners, and draw the attention of the enemy
 “to those parts, whilst my brother is beating the troops of
 “the empire. We have taken and destroyed in Bohemia
 “magazines of every kind, to furnish, for seven months, an
 “army of fifty thousand men. Treskow may replace you
 “during your expedition, which being done, we shall keep
 “quiet in expectation of the event. Adieu, my dear friend;
 “I embrace you.

“FREDERICK.”

P. S. “Your artillery must consist of thirty 12-pounders
 “and two howitzes: there are still 10 howitzes at Glatz.
 “Give directions for the conveyance of some of them to
 “Neisse, that you may have them within your reach in case
 “of need.”

Ninth Letter.

“My dear general, I learnt, from your report of the 25th,
 “that Deville’s corps has marched forward; you have done
 “well in retiring to Neustadt. From all appearances there
 “will be something to be done on that side. I consider it as
 “my duty to attempt, at least, possibilities; and, whatever
 “may be said respecting the degree of fortune that ensures
 “success, the attempt must, nevertheless, be made. I shall
 “tell you, then, what is my design. Besides the four batta-
 “lions you have with you, I will join you with six more,
 “exclusive of the addition of two battalions from Neisse.
 “After that, we will fall upon them to try our fortune,
 “and at least drive them back into the mountains. The
 “29th of this month the whole may be arrived at Neisse, and
 “I will be with you on the 30th, &c.”

Tenth Letter.

“Neisse, 7 in the evening.

“I have not received your answer to my letter. I march,
 “to-morrow, with my whole troop; I shall be with you,
 “my

“ my dear friend, at half past five. Let no regiment go out,
 “ neither mention that I am with you. I shall so chuse
 “ my camp as to conceal it from the enemy, and we will
 “ settle all we have to do for the 1st of May. I am of opi-
 “ nion that it would prove best to march against Lessen
 “ with the whole body, to turn the enemy and take him
 “ in flank, &c.”

Eleventh Letter.

“ 3d of June, 1759.

“ From the news I have, my dear friend, and every thing
 “ I can collect of the plan of my enemies, they are about to
 “ open the campaign. What D'O writes to me to-day,
 “ and which he will, doubtless, have communicated to you,
 “ likewise, confirms it, insomuch that I am calling in Seid-
 “ litz, Platen, and Sidow. As for you, should it happen,
 “ as it apparently will, that Daun pays me a visit, and that
 “ Beck, and perhaps Laudohn, may attempt to penetrate by
 “ Friedland, I abandon them to you. In that case, you
 “ must draw Ramin to you, and, forming a junction with
 “ Bulow, take these enemies in flank, in the rear, and in
 “ every way, to drive them back into Bohemia. That being
 “ done, Deville, Harsch, and Jahnus, will not shew their
 “ faces, but retire into the mountains without striking a blow.
 “ I begin to persuade myself that things will take this turn.
 “ The Russians are in motion, and there is not an opportu-
 “ nity to temporize. As for Daun, he must set the machine
 “ in motion ; accordingly, to take Silesia, he must run some
 “ risk. Every thing announces it. Deville is obliged to
 “ detach four regiments into Bohemia ; a certain proof that
 “ the great blow is to be stricken upon that side. With all
 “ my heart. I accept the omen. As soon as I have news
 “ I will communicate it, and direct you at the same time how
 “ to proceed.”

Twelfth

Twelfth Letter.

“ Reichhenersdorf, 5th of June, 1759.

“ I have received your report of the 4th of this month.
“ You may leave Le Noble's battalion at Warta. But they
“ must be very alert in the absence of the others. Should
“ they prove too closely pressed, they may always throw
“ themselves into Glatz. As to your battalions, try to file
“ off imperceptibly some part of them towards Reichenbach,
“ were it only a brigade of infantry, to have a corps in rea-
“ diness to join Bulow. You may, likewise, send cannon
“ there ; this will be so much gained. I imagine the enemy
“ will commence their operations in three or four days.

“ You might also send the free battalion of Luderitz di-
“ rectly to Bulow to join him. He may employ them ad-
“ vantageously in these mountains ; and I have ordered lieu-
“ tenant-general Treskow to send you the grenadier bat-
“ talion of Rothen.

“ Four battalions, at least, and the hussars of Gersdorf and
“ Luderitz, must join Bulow, to-morrow, in his post of
“ Koningsberg ; and you, also, will continue to file off troops
“ towards Reichenbach, five battalions, for example, and
“ the regiment of Bareith, so that the whole may be ready
“ to join Bulow as soon as possible. Conceal their march
“ from the enemy, upon which occasion you must display all
“ your skill. Things will happen then nearly as follows :
“ When Daun moves, a large body will fall on me ; that is
“ my affair. Another column will penetrate by Friedland,
“ to enter that country, and Beck will march towards
“ Tanhausen, to amuse the corps which I have stationed in
“ that quarter. Another body will penetrate into your
“ country, for the purpose of drawing you thither. Deville
“ will pass the Neisse to stop you on that side. But, suffer
“ not this circumstance to embarrass you. Meet Bulow,
“ and, when joined, you must march against the enemy's co-
“ lumn,

“ lumn, either at Tanhausen, Gottesberg, or towards Val-
 “ lenbourg. The chart of these countries will be finished
 “ this evening, and I will immediately send it you. Call
 “ in major Hauchwitz ; Ramin might also take post at Sil-
 “ berberg, to be more within reach of Treskow. In a word,
 “ we must not permit any circumstance to draw off our at-
 “ tention, but, on the contrary, we must fix it upon the
 “ principal project of the enemy, and endeavour to counter-
 “ act it, when Deville and all his people will instantly fly
 “ of themselves. My poor old friend general Kalkstein has
 “ just expired.

“ FREDERICK.”

Thirteenth Letter.

“ Reichhennersdorf, 6th of June, 1759.

“ I have received your two reports of the 5th of this
 “ month, and, in general, approve the measures you have
 “ taken. Should the enemy make an effort, you must col-
 “ lect all your troops, and the thirteen battalions you still
 “ have, and what are with Bulow ; because, if you are to-
 “ gether, you will surely be in a condition to fall on one of
 “ the Austrian columns, and harraßs it ; but, if separate,
 “ you will be able to effect nothing, and all your efforts
 “ will prove feeble. The Russians will not be able to enter
 “ Silesia till towards the 12th, 13th, or 14th of this month.
 “ Daun means to act at the same time. As yet he has not
 “ made the smallest movement ; not even a patrolle has
 “ passed the frontiers. His right was yesterday at Zaromirz,
 “ and his left at Schurtz. I wait for the intelligence of his
 “ first movement, to judge what may be his real design, and
 “ to send you positive orders for those you are to make. Un-
 “ til he stirs I cannot give you precise directions. But we
 “ must have a little more patience ; and you will do well to
 “ circulate, sometimes, that I am marching towards you with
 “ a body of infantry, and that we shall pass the Neisse at
 “ Camenz,

“ Camenz, or at Patschkow, or where you will, to attack
“ Deville in his camp at Camnitz; sometimes you may
“ spread a report that you are going to take post towards
“ Glatz, and thus alarm them on every side. You may
“ draw their attention likewise to the side of Silberberg, as
“ if there was an intention of marching towards Neurode.
“ Let it be given out too, that you are obliged to advance
“ on the side of Breslaw, to oppose the Russians who are
“ making incursions; and all this to amuse and deceive them
“ in every possible way. We are on the eve of the event;
“ five or six days more, and the enemy’s designs will be no
“ longer a mystery. But when there shall be a likelihood
“ of effecting something, for the love of Heaven do not send
“ out detachments, but act with all your united forces; I
“ mean with twenty-one battalions of infantry, the free
“ battalion of Luderitz, five-and-twenty squadrons of cui-
“ rassiers and dragoons, and sixteen squadrons of hussars.
“ You are tolerably well acquainted with my ideas. It is
“ impossible to tell you every thing that may happen; but
“ as soon as the enemy make a movement, which will have
“ given me further insight into their design, I shall be able to
“ give you more precise instructions. Should the bulk of
“ the enemy’s army post themselves against me, you will be
“ well able to resist a detachment, provided you have always
“ nine days bread with you. In case of necessity, the ca-
“ valry must forage. But should the enemy only make a
“ feint on this side, and I discover that their main body is
“ stationed on the side of Friedland, I will immediately march
“ there, not to dispute the passage, but to cut him off from
“ Bohemia. This will oblige him either to come and attack
“ me in a post unfavourable for him, or to gain the plain, and
“ join as soon as possible Deville’s corps, to procure bread.
“ In the former case, if you keep on a parallel with him, at
“ a certain distance, you will always be able to take him in
“ flank, or in the rear, whilst we shall be engaged; and, in

“ the second case, you must continue to harrafs him, so as
 “ to bring on an advantageous skirmish with his rear guard
 “ at the opening of the mountains, on the side of Reichen-
 “ bach. You may encumber the road likewise from Silber-
 “ berg to Neurode, by having thorns strewn on it, and ren-
 “ dering it absolutely impassable for carriages and his artil-
 “ lery (without which you know he never marches), should
 “ he be inclined to pass a column on that side, &c.”

Fourteenth Letter.

“ Reichhennerdorf, June 9, 1759.

“ You will have heard that Deville’s fourteen battalions
 “ have marched from Senffrenberg to Jaromirs; you will
 “ know likewise that five battalions of Pandours have left
 “ Beck’s corps to join the grand army. All this, my dear
 “ friend, throws light on the project fomed by *the man with*
 “ *the papal hat*. I perceive that his whole forces point to-
 “ wards Trautenau, and that, consequently, he will come
 “ here, and attack me in my fort. The following is my
 “ mode of reasoning, should this be confirmed:—first, that
 “ you take your arrangements to join Bulow on the very
 “ first signal. I conclude, therefore, that, if all the enemy’s
 “ forces direct their course here, it will be proper for you to
 “ march with your whole corps from Friedland to Grissau,
 “ and support my left. This done, and the enemy having
 “ been severely repulsed, you can drive from Silesia the rest
 “ of the troops who may incommode us. The first signal
 “ will be, March to Tanhausen; the second, Detach, in the
 “ first place, the nine battalions there, to Grissau, and follow
 “ them as soon as you can. But, should it happen, that an
 “ enemy’s column tries to penetrate by Friedland, I still ad-
 “ here to the ideas which I have already explained to you in
 “ my preceding letter. I send you, by way of precaution,
 “ the itineraries, in two columns, to serve you in case of
 “ need, supposing that Daun should come here with all his
 “ forces,

"forces, and you should join me. In that case, you may
 "take your camp on the heights of Anna, behind Grissau,
 "the abbey in your front, your face towards Scœnberg,
 "the village of Neüne at the foot of your left, Zider be-
 "low your right, &c."

Fifteenth Letter.

"Reichhennersdorf, June 29, 1759.

"The enemy marched yesterday. The grand army is
 "gone to Jung Buntzlau, Laudohn is encamped at Prauf-
 "nitz, Beck must be at a place called Horzitz, general
 "Harsch is marched to Jaromirs, their bakehouse is re-
 "moved to Teuschbrod. I own to you that I am puz-
 "zled to account for all this. In the mean time, you may
 "send two hundred dragoons, and as many hussars, to
 "Glatz, to get a further explanation of what this means.
 "To-morrow I shall push forward an advanced guard near
 "Trautenau, to get information of what is passing, and to
 "endeavour to keep them in check, as long as this lasts.
 "Dohna has marched against the Russians, who, about
 "30,000 strong, are divided into three corps. Dohna mar-
 "ches against the middle corps at Nackal, and as his ope-
 "ration seems to me infallible, I announce to you good
 "news from him before-hand. I have just taken Schatz-
 "lar, where we have made a captain of cavalry, three
 "hussars, a few officers, and about a hundred Pandours, &c.
 "prisoners."

Sixteenth Letter.

"July 2, 1759.

"You must not so soon lose your patience, my dear
 "friend. Daun's enterprizes have been combined with
 "what the Russians are to do. Now, I should conceive
 "that Dohna will have overthrown one of those corps yef-
 "terday. Of this I cannot obtain information before the

“ 2d or 3d. This entirely deranges Daun’s great plan;
 “ he marches towards Reichenberg. Janus is at Praus-
 “ nitz, Harsch at Jaromirs, and Beck at Skalitz. I have
 “ sent Seidlitz to Lahn; the enemy will take the Mark-
 “ Lissa road. I have two leading points to observe; the
 “ one, to cover Landshout; the other to prevent my being
 “ cut off from Glatz. This is what occupies me at pre-
 “ sent. It is very difficult; but neither more nor less must
 “ absolutely be performed. The cannon of the town are
 “ only field-pieces. Adieu, &c.

“ FREDERICK.”

Seventeenth Letter.

“ July 11.

“ You want, my dear friend, to draw the enemy into a
 “ snare; but you will deceive yourself; they will not at-
 “ tack you, but wish to surround you on every side. You
 “ must carry a point against them; and the very first op-
 “ portunity fall upon the body of some ill-posted troop, and
 “ annoy it exceedingly. I am assured, to-day, that Daun is
 “ intrenching himself near Mark-Lissa. I do not know
 “ why; for, certainly, I have no intention of attacking him
 “ there. Should the enemy endeavour to penetrate Fried-
 “ land with all their forces, march after them; you have
 “ the road to Conradswald open, and the heights of Fried-
 “ land, in the woods, as far as Zider. . . . The Russians cry
 “ like children; the poor little things have only forty thou-
 “ sand men, and Dohna (as they declare) hinders them from
 “ stirring. It is said that Daun is going to send, by Lu-
 “ satia, a detachment to their succour; but they forget that
 “ my brother is at hand, to crush that detachment before it
 “ arrives. Adieu. I embrace you, my dear friend.

“ FREDERICK.”

Eighteenth Letter.

“ Linderove, near Sorau, Sept. 20th, 1759.

“ My brother has let twelve thousand Austrians pass him,
 “ my friend, who have joined the Russians at Christianstadt.
 “ They talk of laying siege to Glogau. I am marching full
 “ speed to stop them ; but I am weak ; I have only 24,000
 “ men, who have been twice beaten. You understand me.
 “ I neither know where you are, nor in what circumstan-
 “ ces. But, if you can, send me some assistance. They may
 “ march towards Primedast. I will not suffer Glogau to
 “ be besieged ; I will sooner come to a battle, let what will
 “ happen. Such were the sentiments of the knights-errant
 “ of old ; and such are mine. To-morrow I shall be be-
 “ yond Sagan, the day after near Glogau. A speedy answer,
 “ my friend, and let the succour march with hasty strides.
 “ Adieu.

“ FREDERICK.”

Nineteenth Letter.

“ Bonau, Sept. 25, 1759.

“ I imagine, my dear friend, that the three battalions
 “ you have sent me under General Meyer, as well as the
 “ six battalions and one hundred hussars, detached to me by
 “ my brother, will join the army to-morrow morning.
 “ In the mean time, I can tell you that the enemy marched
 “ yesterday between Freystadt and New-Salze. They ar-
 “ rived with a great multitude of Cossacks at Beuthen ; and
 “ the Austrians, with their ten regiments of cavalry, have
 “ advanced opposite to us, near a defile. As for me, I have
 “ taken post near Bonau, and have passed the night under
 “ arms. At break of day, I reconnoitred the enemy, and
 “ saw their generals, likewise, on the watch, after which
 “ they slowly returned to their camp. An hour after, the
 “ enemy pitched their tents ; so that it is needless to look

“ for an attack to-day. Should they learn that I expect
 “ succours to-morrow, we may reasonably presume that
 “ there is still less probability of any remarkable attack.

“ FREDERICK.”

“ P. S. With thirty-one thousand men, your humble ser-
 “ vant, howsoever beaten and severely treated, has pre-
 “ vented an army of fifty thousand from attacking him, and
 “ obliged them to fall back on New Salze. We have a
 “ good post here, but only a single line to defend it. The
 “ succours will arrive to-morrow.

Twentieth Letter.

“ Camp at Bonau, Sept. 26, 1759.

“ Yesterday was a critical day, my friend. The enemy
 “ had raised their camp of Freystadt the 23d, and advanced
 “ towards Neustadel: on this, I immediately began my
 “ march, so to post myself as to cut them off from the pas-
 “ sages of Neustadel and Beuthen. The whole army,
 “ amounting to 24,000 men, were at their posts at seven
 “ o'clock that evening; and, in fact, the enemy advanced
 “ with their whole force towards the defiles of Kœhl and
 “ Keltfch. The Cossacks and hussars, to the number of
 “ three thousand, had marched to Beuthen, and the 25th
 “ in the morning all these troops were in motion. Their
 “ generals came to reconnoitre us, and, apparently, our po-
 “ sition either appeared to them too advantageous, or they
 “ were not disposed to proceed to an attack; for we saw
 “ them retire slowly, and they encamped with their left to
 “ Albschaw, and their right extending towards Kœhl.
 “ Yesterday evening, I received advice that a large body of
 “ their troops were passing the Oder, but, hitherto, we still
 “ discover their fires. To-day, the remainder of my army
 “ will arrive here, and I am waiting for news from the ene-
 “ my, to determine me respecting the most efficacious and
 “ least

" least hazardous means of obliging these infamous incen-
 " diaries to quit the country. I suspect that it is their in-
 " tention to avoid a battle, which must soon appear. In
 " that case, it will become a partizan war on both sides of
 " the Oder, and we must fortify our camp well, in order to
 " make detachments with impunity and without risk. This,
 " my dear friend, is our present situation. Now that I have
 " some good troops, I am afraid of nothing. I had detached
 " the best I had to Saxony. The campaign was on the point
 " of closing at Guben, and the Russians wanted to retire.
 " At this moment, what should arrive but this unlucky de-
 " tachment of ten regiments from Daun's army? Add to
 " this, some treachery, and these wretches determine on the
 " siege of Glogau. I imagine their attempt on it has failed.
 " Nothing is left now, but to save the flat country from
 " the ruin with which it is menaced. It was but yesterday
 " that these miscreants burnt two villages before our eyes,
 " without our being able to prevent them. In fine, I will
 " neglect nothing ; and you may depend upon it, that every
 " exertion in my power shall be made to dispatch this bu-
 " siness as soon as possible. But this is not so easy as may
 " be imagined. Adieu, my dear friend, &c.

" FREDERICK."

Twenty-first Letter.

" September 28.

" The barbarians are still over against me; I am propo-
 " sing to treat them as they deserve. If my design succeeds,
 " they will decamp with precipitation. I own to you, that
 " I burn with impatience to be delivered from them, not on
 " my account, but for the sake of the country which they
 " are desolating with fire and sword. I will let you know
 " every thing that passes here.

L 1 4

" Let

“ Let me hear from you, my friend, respecting yourself, and
 “ what is transacting on the side of Görlitz. Adieu. I em-
 “ brace you.

“ FREDERICK.”

Letter Twenty-second.

“ Zerbau, 3d October, 1759.

“ I have received your report of the 2d, and shall now ex-
 “ plain to you the whole project of the enemy. Laudohn
 “ covers the march of the Russians. As soon as they have
 “ passed, he will coast along the frontiers of Silesia, as far as
 “ Oppeln and Ratibor, to lay siege to Neisse, and a corps
 “ will march at the same time into the province of Glatz,
 “ which will approach on the side of Weidenau, or of Jæ-
 “ gerndorf. To derange this project, I shall first send a
 “ corps of cavalry to Cosel, to drive the Pandours from thence.
 “ This corps shall be followed by the three battalions you
 “ have sent me, and the six I received from my brother. I
 “ have thoughts, likewise, of replacing some of the battalions
 “ you have with you, and the corps near Hirschberg, by
 “ another taken from the remainder of my army. The
 “ troops which remain in the environs of Landshout, will be
 “ under the command of major-general Goltz. Besides
 “ this, I will give you the command of the corps in Upper
 “ Silesia; and as for myself, I shall march with about thir-
 “ teen thousand men for Saxony. Should any of general
 “ Harsch's troops hereafter approach Neisse, Goltz may de-
 “ tach more and more towards Schweidnitz. But as for
 “ you, you must wait till I give you more precise instructions.
 “ These are but my preliminary ideas. My brother himself
 “ wrote me word on the 26th of last month, that general
 “ Wehla is taken prisoner, and his whole corps dispersed
 “ near Hoyerswerda. Laudohn has taken post here in the
 “ country of Ratlon, behind the woods, and a triple defile.

“ The

"The Russians are filing off towards Poland. Six thousand
 "men with part of their baggage have already entered it, and
 "another corps of their army march this day. But, I can-
 "not yet determine how far they will go. The troops I
 "send you into Silesia, will arrive in three days near Bres-
 "law; in six, they will be at Neisse; and in seven, in the en-
 "viroins of Oppeln, to destroy the bridge, and hinder the ene-
 "my from passing. In eight days, they will attack and drive
 "off the corps near Cosel, the garrison of which place is
 "not strong enough to execute that business. The detach-
 "ments to be made from hence to Hirschberg, should arrive
 "there in three days, to relieve the battalions.

"As for the rest, send me, as soon as possible, a list of the
 "regiments and battalions under your orders. I am your af-
 "fectionate king.

"FREDERICK."

"This, my dear friend, is my little reasoning in the pre-
 "sent circumstances. The enemy are my compass; by their
 "movements I must steer. I imagine, that, to-morrow, or
 "next day at farthest, they will take the road to Poland.
 "I shall then inform you, positively, what I intend to do.
 "But, however that may be, prepare yourself to take the
 "command in Upper Silesia; I can bestow it on no person
 "more worthy. I shall detach from hence directly for that
 "country, about nine complete battalions, ten squadrons of
 "cavalry, and ten of hussars; then I shall relieve the whole
 "post of Hirschberg with my troops, and Goltz, marching
 "to Landshout, will procure you a detachment of the same
 "force, which will proceed to Neisse, from which you may
 "draw the regiment of Ramin, as soon as you march for-
 "ward; so that you will have eighteen or nineteen batta-
 "lions, with twenty squadrons of my troops, besides the
 "cavalry I shall be able to leave at Hirschberg and at Land-
 "shout; for, I should wish that Werner might be of the
 "expedition

“ expedition into Upper Silesia, and to replace him I could
 “ leave Ruesch and Malakowsky at Landshout. I will
 “ then march into Saxony with about thirteen thousand
 “ men. I have thirty-nine thousand here, and shall have
 “ left, therefore, twenty-six thousand in Silesia. Adieu, my
 “ dear friend, &c.

“ FREDERICK.”

Letter Twenty-third.

“ 6th of October.

“ I believe the enemy will march to-day, which, from
 “ appearances, will clear up our doubts. The Russians will
 “ quit the rout of Thorn, and the Austrians march by
 “ Rawitz along the frontier. In that case, the following is
 “ my disposition. General Platen shall march immediately
 “ with the regiment of Putkammer, ten squadrons of cui-
 “ rassiers, and the battalion of Bodenbrug. In three days he
 “ will be near Breslaw; rest the fourth; the sixth, he will
 “ reach Lœwen; the seventh, we must have a detachment to
 “ break the bridge at Oppeln; and, on the eighth, to break
 “ the bridge of Krappitz, and drive the Pandours from Cosel.
 “ Eight battalions with twelve 12-pounders, and generals
 “ Queis and Gablenz, shall set out the same day; three
 “ marches to Langen-Oels; a day's rest; the sixth day, at
 “ Neisse; the same day, general Thiele marches with five
 “ infantry battalions; general Meyler with a regiment of
 “ dragoons; general Malakowsky with his own regiment,
 “ and that of Ruesch, the two latter forming 600 men. The
 “ fourth day, this corps will be at Landshout to relieve you.
 “ You may then take five squadrons of Bareith, and Wer-
 “ ner's regiment, except about a squadron, and the seven
 “ battalions, and arrive, in three days, at Neisse. You must
 “ send no detachment to Warta; but, if you will absolutely
 “ throw some force into that place, let it be a free battalion.
 “ You may be then in three days with your seven battalions

“ at

“ at Neisse. You will pass the river, and drive off the corps
“ that is at Neudstadt. If Harsch detaches for Upper Si-
“ lesia, let Goltz detach, in proportion, for Neisse. The
“ five battalions I send will be able, at all events, to hold
“ the post at Landshout, provided no person but Janus re-
“ mains at Schatzlar. As soon as Platen shall have expe-
“ dited the gentry at Cosel, you may join him again at Leob-
“ schitz and Neustadt, or thereabouts. Laudohn will repass
“ by Upper Silesia; it will be to assist him that Harsch will
“ detach to Lubow, and if they find no troops opposed to
“ them, they may be strong enough to undertake the siege of
“ Cosel, or of Neisse. I must add, that, if only Janus re-
“ mains near Schatzlar, you may make use of the whole re-
“ giment of Bareith. Your great object is to get the start
“ of Laudohn, which is inevitable, to destroy his magazines,
“ should the enemy form any at Troppau or at Jägersn-
“ dorf, and to harass him as much as you can. Laudohn’s
“ corps amounts to eighteen thousand men, consisting of ten
“ regiments of cavalry, three of which are very feeble,
“ twenty-seven battalions, five of which make 1000 men,
“ the other regiments also of about 1000, twelve hundred
“ hussars, and two thousand Croats. This is what you may
“ rely upon. This morning Laudohn and the Russians
“ were still between Schlichtingheim and Strauwasser. As
“ soon as I hear of their march, and that they separate, I
“ shall send off my three columns, and inform you of it, that
“ you may be on the seventh day in the neighbourhood of
“ Neisse. As for myself, as soon as all the detachments
“ shall have marched from hence, I will take the road of
“ Buntzlaw and Görlitz, to finish the campaign near Dres-
“ den. This is all which I can be able to effect. Should
“ Harsch detach, you, also, must dispatch troops to Neisse,
“ in the same proportion; for, it is time to think of Upper
“ Silesia. Adieu, my dear friend. I embrace you with all
“ my heart.

FREDERICK.”

Let-

Letter Twenty-fourth.

“Sophienthal, 9th October, 1759.

“You do not, my friend, conceive the combination of
“these matters. Laudohn can only pass the Oder at Rati-
“bor or at Oppeln. It is said that the Croats are collecting
“magazines in those parts. These you must destroy, or
“take them from the enemy, and throw down the bridges of
“Oppeln and Ratibor, before Laudohn’s arrival. You must
“drive away likewise a troop of vagabonds, who presume to
“think themselves equal to the arduous enterprize of block-
“ing Cosel. I have sent five squadrons of hussars to Bres-
“law. I shall order them to go to Lœwen. Send Werner
“there, without delay, with five squadrons of his regi-
“ment.

“Inform him of the enemy’s projects, and of mine, on
“Upper Silesia. With these five squadrons he may possibly
“accomplish the three following objects; take the maga-
“zines, break the bridges, and drive the enemy from the
“environs of Cosel. As for me, I will neither divide my
“army, nor make detachments, as long as the Russians and
“Austrians remain together. They are encamping between
“Mechen and Grand Osten. I am waiting the moment of
“their separation. In a few days the Russians will be ob-
“liged to march to Posenania, and Laudohn must strive to
“gain Upper Silesia. It is then that I will detach infantry
“for Breslaw; I shall always get the start of them. My de-
“tachment for Landshout may arrive there in three days:
“if with this corps you march directly to Neisse, and could
“join the regiments which I have appointed to act in Upper
“Silesia, at Neustadt, you will be able either to harass
“Laudohn in his passage over the Oder, or to fall upon his
“rear-guard; and if Harsch detaches in consequence, you
“will fortify yourself in the same proportion with the enemy.
“Let me assure you, that with about two thousand five
“hundred hussars, and three thousand five hundred cavalry,

“I have

"I have made head, during the whole campaign, against ten
"or twelve thousand light troops, ten regiments of Austrian
"cavalry, and all the cavalry of the Russians. In like man-
"ner, with twenty squadrons of cavalry, and two good regi-
"ments of hussars, you may oppose Laudohn's cavalry, three
"regiments of which are totally ruined, and the others have
"terribly suffered. You have only to occupy ground not
"favourable for cavalry to act upon; Laudohn has but 8000
"infantry. His troops are wasting every day. They are
"during five or six days together without bread, and will be
"obliged to make a terrible march, which will cost them at
"least three thousand men in consequence of desertion. Add
"to this, that these troops have the dysentery, and that, con-
"sequently, weakness and bad food will oblige Laudohn to
"conduct them as soon as possible into Moravia. Therefore,
"so far from holding up to you the prospect of great diffi-
"culties, I point to a fresh career of glory opening upon
"you; on which I pray God to take you into his holy keep-
"ing, &c.

"FREDERICK."

These 24 letters we have selected from 62 to the same
general, printed in the *Collection of Letters written by the King
of Prussia, and intended to serve as materials for the history of
the last war*, as the most proper to give an idea of the conduct
and character of Frederick.

I have many papers, but I have not time to go through them. I have two volumes of letters, and all the rest of the papers are in a heap. I have many papers, but I have not time to go through them. I have two volumes of letters, and all the rest of the papers are in a heap. I have many papers, but I have not time to go through them. I have two volumes of letters, and all the rest of the papers are in a heap.

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I N D E X.

A

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Beauveau,

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